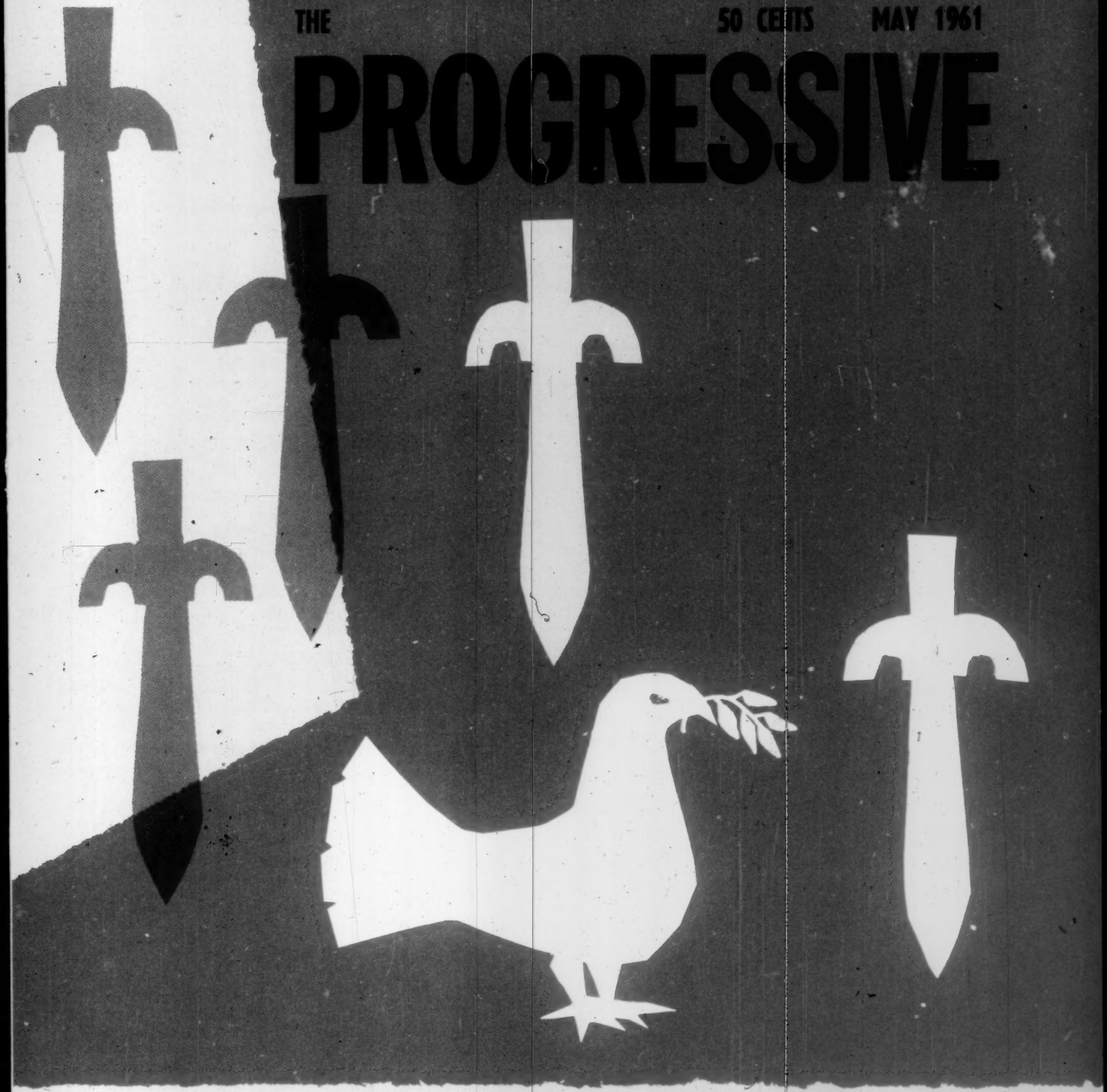
THE 50 CENTS MAY 1961

PROGRESSIVE



THE LESSON OF LAOS — O. Edmund Clubb

PEACE THROUGH DISARMAMENT — W. H. Ferry

ON GROWING UP ABSURD — Murray Kempton

Office memo

DON'T MISS *The Progressive's* June issue. Editor Morris H. Rubin has just returned from an intensive exploration of the explosive area just south of our borders, with emphasis on Cuba. He is now painstakingly distilling hundreds of hours of personal interviews, first-hand observations, official statements, and documented reports into a succinct, comprehensive report on Cuba and the Latin American region surrounding the Caribbean.

In talking to people, gathering information, and absorbing the Caribbean background, Rubin traveled almost 20,000 miles. But overall mileage means little. What is important is that he traveled, for example, more than 2,000 miles in Cuba alone, a land only slightly larger than the state of Tennessee, visiting many areas which no American had touched since the Castro revolution. Rubin carefully examined eleven Latin countries—Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Mexico. These are, almost without exception, countries which have experienced revolutions—some new, some mature—or which are ripe for revolution.

Watch for Editor Rubin's report on this vital area—"Latin America: Dynamite on our Doorstep"—in the June issue.

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Apart from the content of Rubin's report, we were impressed by one of the observations he made upon his return: In almost every country he visited, the U.S. Embassy or the U.S. Information Agency office displayed copies of most of the conservative, mass circulation magazines (we will spare our readers the pain of naming them). Most of them are provided free. More importantly, staff members said they would be delighted to make *The Progressive* available if subscriptions were provided.

There is an unusual opportunity for *Progressive* readers to make such subscriptions available in the special offer on the back covers of this issue. For only $5, three subscriptions may be sent anywhere in the world—and for each three subscriptions the donor will receive a free copy of the autobiography of Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., founder of *The Progressive*. The offer is good for subscriptions for friends or associates, and for those readers who would like to extend a hand of friendship overseas, we heartily recommend a gift that will reach many people through the scores of embassies or USIA offices in other lands. We have the names and addresses; you need only designate your purpose on the subscription form to reach these U.S. outposts.

We urge every reader to use the detachable order form on the back cover—or any sheet of paper—to add three new readers to *The Progressive's* growing mailing list—and receive an exciting book for your efforts. If you prefer, we will supply the names. And there is a postpaid envelope enclosed in this issue for your convenience.

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FOUNDED IN 1909 BY ROBERT M. LaFOLLETTE, Sr.

MAY, 1961

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The Progressive makes no attempt to exact complete conformity from its contributors, but rather welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its general policies. Signed articles, therefore, do not necessarily represent the opinion of the management of the magazine.

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PROGRESSIVE

"YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH
AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE"

High Noon at Geneva

by SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

In recent years, The Progressive *has sharply criticized American conduct at the Geneva test ban negotiations, especially the lack of preparation of the American negotiators and our intransigent position on negotiable issues. Now, however, the situation seems reversed, and it is the Soviets who are blocking progress toward a test ban treaty. The guest editorial below by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey is adapted from a speech he made in the Senate recently. Senator Humphrey, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has long been one of the foremost spokesmen in Congress for negotiated disarmament protected by inspection and controls.*

—THE EDITORS

THE UNITED STATES, on March 21, resumed negotiations in Geneva with the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union for the discontinuance of nuclear weapons testing. These negotiations, which began in October, 1958, have covered some 280 meetings, three technical working groups, and scores of informal sessions. The United States negotiating team is well prepared and is determined to conduct serious negotiations. I commend President Kennedy for his selection of Arthur Dean, one of the outstanding legal minds of our nation, as our chief negotiator. Prior to Mr. Dean's departure for Geneva, I discussed with him our negotiating program. I believe that we are better prepared at this time for serious negotiations than at any time in recent years.

If the Soviet Union wants a treaty and is prepared to accept a control and inspection system, the Soviet representative at the test ban talks will find the United States and Great Britain receptive. We are sincere in wanting to get down to business, and we want to complete the drafting of an acceptable treaty.

If, however, the Soviet Union elects to follow a tactic of stalling—and, regrettably, this now appears to be the case—of refusing to agree on a system of inspection and control, and of shifting its position, as it has, by proposing a tri-partite administration with a built-in veto, then we shall know that once again a first step toward disarmament has been snatched from our grasp. If the Soviet Union follows this tactic, nuclear testing may well be resumed. Nuclear testing may be resumed not only by the Soviet Union, the United States, and the United Kingdom, but it may be continued by France and may be begun by Communist China, and perhaps a half dozen or so other powers which are able to achieve a nuclear weapons capability.

Herblock in The Washington Post

"Shall We Resume Testing Human Beings?"

The whole world should be shocked at the position now taken by the U.S.S.R. on the administrator for the test ban control organization. The Soviets last year had agreed with the United States and the United Kingdom that "the administrator shall be the chief executive officer of the system and head of the staff of the control organization." That was an agreed-upon provision in the draft of the treaty. The Soviets now propose an administrative council composed of three administrators, one representing the United States, the United Kingdom, and its allies, one representing the Soviet Union and its satellites, and one representing neutral states. According to the new Soviet view, the three administrators would have to be in unanimous agreement before decisions could be made and carried out.

This is the veto in new clothing. It is completely unacceptable. I say this as one who has been keenly concerned with and interested in this subject of nuclear test suspension and who has advocated it under proper safeguards of inspection and control. Such a provision would constitute a fraud.

If this is the position the Soviet Union plans to maintain in the test ban and all other disarmament negotiations, then the Soviet Union is saying, in effect, that it is really not interested in any type of disarmament or even in steps leading to disarmament. Let the world know that

if these test ban talks fail because of the Soviet Union's intransigence and because of Soviet tactics, the responsibility this time for the arms race and its continuance will rest squarely upon the leadership of the Soviet Union.

There is no hope for any kind of disarmament unless we can at least take the first step of an inspected nuclear test cession treaty. If we cannot take that step, then the talk of disarmament is an exercise in futility. My hope is that the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States will succeed in drafting a treaty to end nuclear weapons testing. Such a treaty, if carried out in good faith according to its letter and its spirit, would demonstrate that it is possible to combine steps involving the reduction of arms with steps involving effective control and inspection. Let there be no mistake about this: there can be no disarmament, nor can there be reduction of armaments, without inspection and control.

We went to this Geneva conference prepared to negotiate every item in the draft treaty. For the first time, we had a position prepared on every unresolved point. Every position in controversy in preceding negotiations was reviewed, and a new United States position was established. We have unfolded our position to the Soviet Union. We have kept nothing back. We have attempted to put on the conference table every unresolved point. We are seeking accommodation with the Soviet Union on these points.

The control system now being sought by the United States does contain safeguards:

First—There would be placed in the Soviet Union several control posts, equipped with sensitive instruments, to record phenomena which might be nuclear explosions. Control posts would also be located in the United States and in all parts of the world. These control posts would also be able to record events in the Soviet Union.

Second—Several on-site inspections per year would be allowed in the Soviet Union, in the United States, and in the United Kingdom, to check a suspicious event to determine whether it was or was not a nuclear explosion. Any inspection system which does not provide on-site inspection cannot possibly be effective.

Third—The majority of the technical personnel at the control posts, at the headquarters of the control system, and on the inspection teams would not be nationals of the country being inspected and controlled. In other words, there would not be self-inspection.

Fourth—The personnel of the control system would not be hampered in the pursuit of its duties. If it were hampered, this would be grounds for abrogation of the treaty. The personnel would have rights of movement similar to all diplomatic agents. They are not to be prevented from going immediately to the site of a possible nuclear test, if the instruments of the control posts indicate such an event may have taken place.

Fifth—The control organization would not be hampered by a veto. Decisions of the control commission will be made by simple majority vote, except in a few cases, to be stated in the treaty, where the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union have agreed either on unanimity or a two-thirds majority. The United States, I know, will not budge from this position. We shall not condone the use of a veto in the day-by-day operations of the control systems.

Sixth—The control organization would provide for a research program for the improvement of techniques in the detection and identification of nuclear explosions and natural phenomena. Furthermore, the treaty will provide that the results of research can be incorporated into the control system.

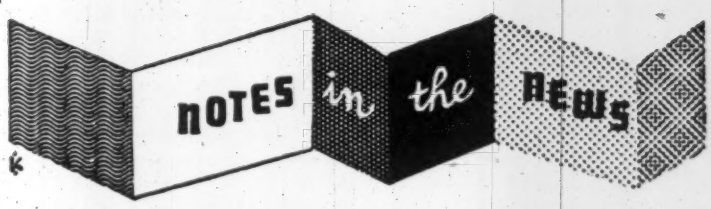
Seventh—If countries such as France and Communist China do not sign the treaty and abide by its obligations, the United States would be freed thereby of its obligations to refrain from nuclear weapons testing.

In listing these safeguards I would not want anyone to think that it is possible to have a hundred per cent foolproof or cheat-proof system to monitor the cessation of nuclear weapons tests. We must face the fact that no such perfect system is currently possible, given the present state of technology in detection and the fanaticism of the Soviets towards secrecy and their fear of an open society. On both these counts, however, a test ban treaty could improve the situation. A treaty offers opportunity for increasing our knowledge of detection. A test ban treaty could also contribute to breaking down the wall of secrecy and suspicion which surrounds so much of Soviet thinking and action.

I feel that we are actually at high noon at Geneva in the nuclear test cessation conference. The Soviet Union has again applied the kind of brinksmanship which threatens the peace and security of all mankind. It is time that the United States of America spoke openly, fearlessly, and frankly about these matters. We have gone to the conference prepared to negotiate—indeed, to compromise.

The Soviet Union understands straight talk. The straight talk needs to come not only from the executive branch of our government, as it is coming now, but also from Congress. It should not be talk which is belligerent in nature, because I for one seek reconciliation and an agreement with proper safeguards and controls. I do not seek to have a proliferation of these weapons or an expansion of them. I seek to halt the arms race before it consumes us.

This result cannot be achieved by us alone. It requires that the peace-loving peoples of the world bring whatever pressure they can upon the great powers to come to an agreement. The peace organizations of America must speak up fearlessly, not only to our own government, but also to other governments, particularly to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is today bargaining with the future of mankind, and it is bargaining recklessly. I want the people who believe in the cause of peace to understand what is taking place. I hope that in the weeks ahead, after a careful re-examination of the United States-British proposals, that the Soviet delegates at Geneva will receive instructions from their home office at the Kremlin to bargain in good faith. If they do that, then much of the talk about easing world tensions will at least have its first possible chance of success.



Mad, But No Tea Party

Entering the strange, distorted world of Robert W. Welch and his John Birch Society gives one the feeling of having stumbled into the fantasy of Alice in Wonderland's mad tea party. There is the Mad Hatter, or Robert Welch, to whom "Milton Eisenhower is actually Dwight Eisenhower's superior boss within the Communist party . . . My firm belief that Dwight Eisenhower is a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy is based on an accumulation of detailed evidence so extensive and so palpable that it seems to me to put this conviction beyond any reasonable doubt."

But the Eisenhowers are far from lonely in their underground Communist cell. Named with them in the conspiracy are former Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman, the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and his brother Allen W. Dulles, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, scores of other high government officials, and one-third of the ministers of American churches. To Welch, ". . . democracy is merely a deceptive phrase, a weapon of demagoguery, and a perennial fraud," and, anyway, the United States, as long as two years ago, was as much as fifty per cent controlled by Communists. The Communist *Daily Worker* quit publication "because the 'line' taken by the New York *Times* long ago made it unnecessary, superfluous, and probably embarrassing to the *Times*."

At this point there is a temptation to leave the Mad Hatter and his March Hares, and, like Alice, awaken from the dream. But this is no dream. Nor is it a tea party, however mad it may be.

Robert Welch is the leader of a highly organized, ultra-reactionary organization, with chapters in at least thirty-five states, in which membership is expected to reach 100,000 by the end of this year; the ultimate goal is one million. Its membership and "endorsers" include Congressmen and industrialists, housewives and cabinet makers—in one Texas city there is a chapter for bricklayers, one for financiers, and one for Negroes. Its theme is "Hate Communism," and its view of the Communist threat to the United States is, "The danger is almost entirely internal, from Communist influences right in our midst and treason right in our government."

The John Birch Society was founded in Indianapolis in December 1958 by Welch, a retired candy manufacturer and former director of the National Association of Manufacturers. The Society was named after a young missionary to China who joined the United States military forces there and reportedly was killed by Chinese Communists ten days after the war ended while on an official cloak-and-dagger mission. He would have passed unheralded into history were it not for the fact that he is now memorialized in the John Birch Society as "the first casualty in the third world war."

Herblock in The Washington Post

"They're ALL Communists except Thee and Me—"

The organization grew quietly as an underground movement, operating much like the Communists—secret membership, front groups, infiltration of existing organizations, and the like. Eventually it reached such a size and encompassed such a range of activities that exposure and publicity became inevitable. Within recent weeks Welch and his followers exploded onto the front pages of newspapers from coast to coast, on the floor of the Senate and the House, and in numerous state legislatures.

Glenview, Illinois, presents an excellent case history of the effect the John Birch Society can have on a community. In a devastating series, the Chicago *Sun-Times* exposed the havoc the Birchers have wreaked in this suburb of Chicago, in the heart of the gold-plated North Shore, where scores of John Birch chapters flourish. "Neighbors spy on neighbors," reports the *Sun-Times*, "lifetime friends avoid each other, and men and women speak guardedly in the fear of being branded either Reds or Fascists. The Red hunters have set church against church, and split congregations . . . Americanism has become a prime issue in the village election . . . Protestant and Catholic leaders are quarreling in public."

Other newspapers have published similar exposures — including the arch-conservative Los Angeles *Times*, which denounced the John Birch Society as "subversive." Some conservative newspapers and political leaders, embarrassed by being classed with Welch, have called on the House Un-American Activities Committee or the Senate Internal Security Committee to launch an investigation of the organization. They have been joined by a fair sprinkling of liberals and liberal publications, including some who for years have been denouncing these pernicious committees and denying their right to investigate. Ironically, the latest demand on the Senate committee for an investigation came from Welch himself.

We see no good that would be accomplished by an investigation. If the Walter and Eastland committees' investigations of left-wing groups is cause for protest, so too is that of the

right-wing John Birch Society. These deluded people have a right to speak their minds, however obnoxious their doctrines may be. An attempt to shut them up or to harass them by Congressional investigating committees does no service to democracy. For excesses, there are already existing laws—courts throughout the land have held uniformly that unjustifiably calling someone a Communist is in itself grounds for a libel suit.

There is a better way to fight the John Birch Society, and much of the press has made a good start: expose the Society relentlessly, hold its absurd doctrines and divisive activities up to the ridicule they deserve—but defend, at every opportunity, the Society's right to speak. It may be a painful and drawn-out process, but it is the only democratic way—and in the long run the only effective one.

Something for Everyone

It is only a few short months since President Eisenhower, in his farewell address, surprised almost everyone by firing a parting shot at the "unwarranted influence" of the "military-industrial complex" that plans and manufactures and buys and sells our enormous volume of national defense materials. Yet there is no evidence in Washington that this powerful lobby was even winged by the retiring President. It is flying just as high as ever.

Congressional Quarterly, that admirable watch-dog of the Washington scene, made a survey of the defense program under the new Administration and could see no signs of change in the relentless drive for contracts, bases, and always more military hardware. There was a big splash in the press when Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara announced the closing of fifty-two military installations here at home and twenty-one overseas—not as an economy move, but to meet changing defense requirements. But the pain was eased by a bill authorizing $808 million in construction covering 790 installations in all fifty states. Representative Carl Vinson, Chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, described the bill as having "something for everyone."

There are 261 retired generals and admirals on the payrolls of the top one hundred defense contractors. The publications of the service "booster" organizations are supported in large part by the advertising of missile and plane manufacturers. These contractors and the competing armed services work closely together in a highly organized lobby to sell their programs to Congress.

Congress Cooperates

One of the great sources of strength of this lobby is the eagerness of Congressmen to get as large a piece of the rich military pie as possible for their home states and districts. It is hardly a coincidence that Georgia, the home of Military Affairs Committee Chairman Vinson, has nineteen defense bases. ("One more base would sink the state," a brave general once told Vinson.) Or that there are 108 installations in California (in all but five of the state's thirty districts). Or forty-seven in Texas (in all but three of twenty-two districts).

Furthermore, the defense budget is a political sacred cow, with members of both parties vying with each other to prove their patriotism by supporting ever larger appropriations. With an estimated one in eight citizens dependent upon defense spending, the military program has become such a vital factor in sustaining the economy that politicians are afraid to attack the lobby for fear of economic disaster.

A Dangerous Test

"One test of Eisenhower's warning," concluded *Congressional Quarterly,* "may be in the making, with the resumption of negotiations for a treaty with the Soviets to ban nuclear tests. . . . If the Kennedy Administration succeeds in negotiating a workable treaty, it will still have to secure Senate ratification. That may mean bucking a 'military-industrial complex' whose full power remains unknown."

Right now, it is the Soviet Union that is acting badly in Geneva, and hopes for a test ban have dimmed. But there have been several occasions in the past when this powerful military lobby successfully threw roadblocks in the path of the United States' negotiating team. Its full power may not yet be known, but from all the evidence, it must be awesome indeed.

No Place

Possibly the most neglected people of our "affluent society" are the migrant farm workers. They have no homes, in the accepted sense of a home as a place where a person spends most of his time. Their children have only minimal schooling. Migrant workers are specifically exempted from almost all the welfare provisions that the rest of our citizens have enjoyed since the New Deal days of a generation ago. Their hourly pay, on the average, makes the Federal minimum wage, even without the proposed increase, look like heaven. Their work is so erratic that the migrant worker's family income—this usually includes a working wife and often working children—adds up to an average of less than $1,000 a year.

Probably the greatest single obstacle in recent years to the improvement of the migrant workers' dismal life is the importation of Mexican *braceros*—farm workers brought from Mexico under arrangement with the Mexican government. On the surface, this is a good—and a new—deal for the Mexican worker. He is, theoretically, protected—far above his home standards—by a minimum wage, health and housing guarantees, and assured work opportunities. But how does the system work?

A Catholic priest who has spent many years with *braceros* in California says: "The *bracero* program is only a legal way of continuing to exploit the migrant worker . . . I have seen paychecks for a week's work that amounted to only seventeen cents, or three cents, after deductions. *I have even seen a check for one cent.*"

There are varying reports on how many migrant workers roam up and down these United States in search of sustenance. A reasonable estimate might run as high as two million. But a close estimate of the *braceros* imported from Mexico can be made because, unlike United States-citizen migrant workers, both the U.S. government and the Mexican government keep track of the Mexicans who cross the border. They number close to 400,000. Their presence here serves two major purposes for United States' agriculture: They see the crops

through to harvest; and they keep down, to a pitiably low level, the rate of pay of migrant workers.

According to law, *braceros* may not be brought into an area unless local labor is not available at the prevailing wage rate. But in practice the *braceros'* low wage rate all too often determines the prevailing wage. Until recently, they were frequently used as strike breakers, or to defeat attempts to unionize migrants. Ironically, because they are working under an international agreement, *braceros* are more protected in matters of wages and living conditions, as bad as they are, than are our own citizen farm workers.

The *bracero* program is scheduled to end December 31, unless it is renewed in the current session of the Congress. The *bracero,* the citizen farm worker, the grower, and the nation would be in better condition if this misused legislation were allowed to die quietly.

The law goes under the title, Public Law 78, and it comes within the jurisdiction of the House Agriculture Committee, to which protests against extension may be addressed. The law has powerful support from farm organizations, although only 45,000 of the millions of farmers use *braceros.* Since the great majority of them are large "factory" farmers making substantial profits, they would not be seriously hurt by having to pay the higher wages that would most likely result from stopping the importation of farm labor. But millions of our own miserable migrant workers would enjoy a slightly brighter life.

Pains of Automation

A year or so ago we reported in these columns that a far-sighted, humane program had been launched by the Armour meat packing company in cooperation with the two major meat workers unions, a program designed to ease the impact of automation, advancing at a gallop in the meat industry, by retraining displaced workers for other jobs.

Now some early returns are in concerning the effectiveness of the program, and it appears so far to be a modest success. Men have been retrained as retail meat cutters, real estate brokers, auto mechanics, tailors, and women as beauticians and in other fields. In most cases, workers who have already moved into new jobs like them better than those they lost. The pay is almost invariably less, but the program has given a decided boost to the morale of workers who would otherwise have been dumped on the labor market after as much as twenty-five years at a trade of little use elsewhere.

But the unions are being cautious about appraising the overall effects of the retraining program. Their fear is that even with a new skill there may be no new job. And these fears are well grounded. President Kennedy has said that even with economic recovery this summer we may still have seven per cent unemployment in the fall. At a time when new workers will soon be flooding the labor market at a record rate, the pace of automation is knocking workers out of jobs in soaring numbers. Since 1956, employment in the automobile industry has dropped twenty per cent; the United Auto Workers Union has lost more than 200,000 members. In the transportation-equipment industry, production rose, but the number of employes declined—by a quarter-million. In rubber, the drop was 25,000; in chemicals, 36,000. And so it goes, in banks and bakeries, in textiles and shipping.

Big Problem, Big Solution

Other industries have developed plans similar to Armour's in an effort to answer the question put by Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg: "How do we protect human values while we automate?" Most unions have taken a responsible approach to the problem, but with jobs and members disappearing at such a rapid rate, the problem appears to have reached a magnitude beyond the capacity of the unions—or management—to handle.

The new Administration, in a provision in the Depressed Areas bill, has taken the first tentative step toward solving the human problem of automation—the problem President Kennedy says "may be the most serious domestic problem of the next ten years."

Secretary Goldberg has stated that while labor and management can do much to ease the strains of automation, "the government has a key role that has not been developed. Only the government is big enough to retrain and relocate workers and to reorient our educational system to offset the hardships of automation in advance, by training young people for jobs where they are needed."

We are already ten years too late in starting a large-scale, coordinated effort to solve a problem which has been accelerating since World War II. Only a greatly quickened pace now can avert misery for millions even in a period of rapid economic growth.

Save the Employers

In an unusual reversal of the employment problem, four hundred employes of a meat packing plant in Pittsburgh saved their employers' jobs—and their own—when the firm was threatened with bankruptcy, by voluntarily and spontaneously giving up five weeks wages this year. Creditors were so impressed they made long term repayment plans to keep the company afloat. Morale among workers is higher than ever, reports a veteran employe, and management says business is better than ever because of publicity about the plan.

"So we work five weeks without pay," commented an employe. "That's better than working no weeks. The way we look at it, working forty-seven weeks with pay is better than fifty-two weeks with no pay."

Bigotry Wins A Battle

The courageous little interracial Highlander Folk School, near Monteagle, Tennessee, has finally lost its two year battle against prejudice. Long an object of hate and suspicion because of its open racial policies and—to many Tennesseans—"radical" ideas, the forces of bigotry finally nailed the school on flimsy charges that the director had operated the school for "private gain," and spirits had been sold on the premises. A lower court revoked the school's charter. In April the Tennessee Supreme Court upheld the action, and ordered the school closed.

At this writing, we do not know what, if any, further legal steps will be, or can be, taken. But we hope this is not the end of the fight. The closing of Highlander is a tragedy, and the liberal spirit everywhere is damaged until it is reopened.

THE LESSON OF LAOS

by O. EDMUND CLUBB

THE UNITED STATES has failed in the expensive attempt to mold the situation in Laos to its purpose. Far worse, conditions in Laos are now rapidly developing to the advantage of the Communist bloc, with the result that our position throughout all Southeast Asia is being weakened. Those developments are, in major measure, of our own making, for they represent the costly consequences of years of short-sighted, blundering diplomacy. Moreover, as our allies well know, we have been guilty of moral transgression in violating the neutrality of a nation protected by international agreement.

The root cause of the present crisis was the Republican Administration's original inability to reconcile itself to the Communist half-victory in Indo-China. The United States had invested more than two billion dollars in support of the French in the colonial war of 1946-54, but the war was lost. We reluctantly attended the Geneva conference of 1954 that brought French rule in Indo-China to an end and provided for establishment of the independent states of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, but we strongly disapproved of both the proceedings and the "surrender" to the Communist Vietminh, and did not sign the final agreements. We did no more than promise not to overturn those agreements by the use of threat of force.

The Geneva settlement provided that Laos, in particular, might maintain strictly limited military relations with France, but stipulated that it was not to enter into any other military alliance and that, prior to the settlement of its political problems, it might not accept other foreign military assistance, whether in the form of arms, personnel, or military instructors. There was no exception made for the benefit of the United States, although we were soon to play the game—and a dangerous one it was—of pretending we had a special permit to destroy Laos' neutrality.

The proposed political settlement envisaged the integration of *all* citizens, including the Communist-influenced military force, Pathet Lao, into the national community. The signatories of the Geneva accords (including the U.S.S.R. and Communist China) had undertaken to "refrain from any interference" in the internal affairs of the new states. Laos, by that concept, would have constituted a neutral buffer state between Thailand on the west and Communist North Vietnam on the east.

After extended efforts, the Lao Premier, Prince Souvanna Phouma, succeeded in reaching a partial settlement of outstanding issues with the Pathet Lao in November, 1957. The Pathet Lao gave up control of two provinces and was given two insignificant cabinet posts. The issue of the disposition of two Pathet Lao battalions remained, but it appeared that Laos was on the road to a government representative of all political factions, and neutral in the cold war struggle.

This ran contrary to the will of the United States. The American Ambassador to Laos, J. Graham Parsons, would in time testify: *"I struggled for sixteen months to prevent a coalition."* The United States government was then working not for neutralism, but for the winning of fresh adherents to the system of military alliances being constructed to "contain" Communism. In Southeast Asia, SEATO had been formed in 1954 as a part of that grand design, and our efforts were directed at incorporating Laos as well as South Vietnam in the American sphere of influence.

The political aspect of Laos changed radically with the holding of elections in May, 1958. The Neo Lao Haksat (political arm of the Pathet Lao movement) and the fellow-traveling Neutralist Party won thirteen of the twenty-one contested seats in the National Assembly. Where some American officials previously had reputedly feared that a coalition government might be captured by a Communist coup in the Czechoslovakian pattern, they were now confronted with the possibility that the Left, as represented by the Pathet Lao, might be able to gain control by constitutional processes.

In July, Premier Souvanna Phouma discharged the International Supervisory Commission which had been set up at Geneva to oversee implementation of the political agreements, and he resigned with the aim of forming a new cabinet *without* representatives of the Neo Lao Haksat. But he failed to form a cabinet, and was succeeded by the pro-American Phoui Sananikone. Writing in *Le Monde Diplomatique* for February, 1961, Souvanna Phouma has described what followed:

O. EDMUND CLUBB served as an officer in the U.S. Foreign Service in Asia for two decades and for a time as director of the Office of Chinese Affairs in the State Department. He has written extensively on the Far East for a number of scholarly journals.

"Under the pressure of the United States, the policy of strict neutrality was abandoned and replaced by the taking of a position sharply pro-American."

Sananikone naturally included no Neo Lao Haksat members in his cabinet, but undertook instead to eliminate the influence of the Left from government. The American influence grew correspondingly, and a first shipment of American arms was received in early 1959. Forcible measures were taken in May, 1959, against the two Pathet Lao battalions that had resisted integration into the Royal Lao Army, and Pathet Lao leaders in Vientiane, the country's administrative capital, were placed under detention.

However, one of the Pathet Lao battalions escaped the government trap and made its way back into the northern hill country which had earlier been the base for Pathet Lao guerrilla activity. Former guerrillas took up arms again. There was no longer coalition in Laos, but once more polarization into Right and Left. The Vientiane regime now had a civil war on its hands. Bogged down by corruption and ineffectiveness, it showed itself incapable of dealing with the rebellion.

The Pathet Lao forces soon won substantial gains in their old stamping grounds, Sam Neua and Phong Saly provinces. In September, 1959, the Vientiane government charged that it was being invaded from North Vietnam and tried to get the services of a United Nations task force for use against the rebels—but it failed to prove the alleged invasion and got no help. In April, 1960, the government held elections; and where the Neo Lao Haksat and the Neutralist Party had made an alarmingly good showing in 1958, now they won no seats at all. That result reflected no growing strength of the government, for the elections, it was evident, had been rigged. The political opposition, if it would make its weight felt, had been left no other recourse than the force of arms.

A move was not long in coming. The young parachutist, Captain Kong Le, in August, 1960, staged a coup in Vientiane and ousted the pro-American government. Souvanna Phouma returned to power by the sanction of King Savang Vatthana and organized a middle-of-the-road cabinet; moreover, he announced that he intended to follow a genuinely neutralist policy in foreign affairs.

A complicated series of maneuvers ensued. Souvanna Phouma negotiated with the King, the Pathet Lao, and right-wing General Phoumi Nosavan, nephew of Premier Sarit Thanarat of Thailand, and strong man behind the ousted pro-American government. Souvanna Phouma's aim was to restore the coalition that had been shattered in 1958; but again the United States intervened, using the leverage of its financial aid (on which the Royal Lao Army had become almost wholly dependent) in an effort to force him to join with Phoumi Nosavan and conservative Prince Boun Oum in an anti-Communist combination.

Souvanna Phouma refused to bow to the American pressure. The Lao Right, supported by the United States, gathered at Savannakhet in southern Laos. On November 11, right-wing forces seized the royal capital of Luang Prabang; neighboring Thailand laid down an economic blockade against Vientiane. Souvanna Phouma still continued in his course. On November 20, he announced that he had sighed a preliminary agreement with the Pathet Lao. And, he began negotiating for Soviet aid. A news dispatch from Vientiane to the New York *Times* November 20 gave an estimate of the significance of current developments: "British, French, and other foreign diplomats here . . . said that support for General Phoumi Nosavan from the United States *has thrust Premier Souvanna Phouma into the waiting arms of the Communists.*" (Emphasis added)

The Wall Street Journal

The gloomy estimate was soon borne out by events. The Premier and most of his cabinet withdrew from Vientiane to neighboring Cambodia December 9. A Soviet airlift of supplies to the loyalist military force in Vientiane began shortly afterwards. That force, headed by Kong Le, was pushed out of the capital in mid-December and proceeded to join its strength with that of the Pathet Lao in northern Laos. The Phoumi Nosavan Boun Oum party went to Vientiane and there was approved as the government of Laos by the Assembly born of the rigged April elections. There were now two governments in Laos.

At the turn of the year, a new cry of "Wolf!" went up in Vientiane, with Boun Oum's regime charging that some six battalions of Vietnamese and other foreign forces had invaded the country. As on the previous occasion, the United States took instant alarm. An alert went out to American naval and air forces in the West Pacific; two aircraft carriers and a unit of United States Marines were dispatched at once to the South China Sea; SEATO met in emergency session. On January 7, the State Department issued a White Paper calling upon the nations of the free world to rally to the aid of Laos.

The development of the case was overtaken by the extraordinary revelation by Lao Minister of Education Nhouy Abhay in a press conference January 26 (attended by Prince Boun Oum) that Vientiane's charges of aggression had been manufactured out of whole cloth for the simple purpose of demonstrating to the Laotian people that the regime enjoyed foreign support. The State Department, which earlier had reported that "substantial numbers" of foreign troops had parachuted into Laos from Soviet planes, showed no signs of being nonplussed: the American position, it said, had not been changed by

the revelations. It was clear, however, that the episode had not gained world sympathy for that position.

It was in those circumstances in January that the Democrats took over the Administration in Washington. They had inherited a weak hand to play in a complicated game. In that game, we faced a change in tactics on the part of Moscow. A new tactical approach to one type of revolutionary situation had been spelled out plainly, for all to read, in the December 6 statement of eighty-one Communist parties in Moscow: "The Communist parties . . . have always been against the export of revolution. At the same time, they fight resolutely against imperialist export of counter-revolution."

In effect, any American efforts to tip a revolutionary situation in favor of the United States by throwing in aid would be met by counter-measures from the Communist side. The Soviet airlift of arms to Kong Le and the Pathet Lao rebels had begun just one week after the Phoumi Nosavan coup that drove Souvanna Phouma from Vientiane. By the end of January, the situation in Laos had badly deteriorated, for the Soviet intervention had by then become a major factor in the power equation.

The Kennedy Administration strove valiantly to rally international support and save something from the burning. Souvanna Phouma continued his own efforts to find a domestic solution. Those efforts were fruitless. The question of Laos had become bigger than Laos: it had been internationalized. On March 15, Souvanna Phouma left Cambodia to visit various world capitals in a quest for a solution of the Laotian crisis.

Proposals made in several international quarters (but not the United States) for settlement of the crisis centered on a proposal made earlier by Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia for an international conference, on the lines, but enlarged, of the 1954 Geneva meeting. It proposed inclusion of the members of the 1954 International Supervisory Commission (India, Poland, and Canada) and Laos' immediate neighbors and also proposed that the United States, which had occupied an ambivalent position regarding the 1954 conference, this time "should be urgently invited as a full participant . . ."

Justus in The Minneapolis Star

Fragile Flower

Moscow had approved the Cambodian proposal promptly, and enthusiastically. Peking endorsed it fully. On January 11, President de Gaulle of France gave his approval. Britain was working for re-activation of the 1954 International Supervisory Commission, but the British position regarding a Southeast Asian matter had finally to be a Commonwealth position. The March 17 communique of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers conference in London set forth the Commonwealth opinion: "The Prime Ministers . . . expressed the hope that the parties would be able to reconcile their differences, that intervention from outside would cease, and that Laos would be enabled to enjoy an independent, neutral, and peaceful existence."

Britain and the Soviet Union had been co-chairmen of the Geneva conference, and London was now negotiating with Moscow regarding the situation in Laos. In a memorandum of March 23, the British informed Moscow they believed the Geneva conference should be recalled—and that they endorsed Prince Sihanouk's proposal that certain other nations should attend "as full members."

The United States had by this time again deployed armed forces and had transported some military equipment to Thailand for possible use in Laos. Secretary of State Dean Rusk went to the SEATO conference at Bangkok at the end of March to the accompaniment of declarations that we intended to stand firm against aggression in Laos. Nevertheless, what counts in SEATO is not Thailand, ruled by Phoumi Nosavan's uncle, but the support of our NATO allies, Britain and France. The French, for their part, were about to embark upon the delicate and vital task of negotiating a settlement of the Algerian problem. The British government, following its established working principle, would give the utmost consideration to New Delhi's attitude regarding a matter so intimately related to India's position in South Asia.

Where it had patently been hoped in Washington that an agreement could be reached for a strong united stand in favor of military action, if need be, against the Soviet-supported Laotian forces, the SEATO communique threatened only "appropriate" action if peace and a political settlement were not brought to Laos. It was clear that there were major differences among the allies as to what action might be "appropriate" in the given circumstances.

The British memorandum of March 23 had proposed that the two co-chairmen should issue a call for an immediate *de facto* cease-fire. In a reply April 1, the Soviet Union agreed to the call for a cease-fire, to the reactivation of the International Supervisory Commission, and to an international conference. Remarking that "the question of the Laotian government is, naturally, an internal affair of the Laotians themselves," it voiced its support for the government of Souvanna Phouma as the legitimate government of Laos.

While procedural questions held up the proposed conference, the Pathet Lao would be increasing their holdings. And at any conference, it appeared, the United States would be found negotiating from a position resting upon the Boun Oum government's weakness against both the Sino-Soviet axis and the Asian "neutralists." The prospect was bleak.

The problems to be dealt with by the proposed conference are complex and difficult. A cease-fire would, of course, leave Laos divided, as similar cease-fires resulted in division for Korea and Vietnam. The Kong Le-

Pathet Lao forces now control three provinces—Sam Neua, Phong Saly, and Xhieng Khouang; in 1954 they held only the first two. In the light of their previous experience, it cannot be expected that they would agree to the reunification of the country under one government before a settlement were reached and guaranteed at the conference. They now command more effective strength than does the American-supported Boun Oum regime at Vientiane. It is unlikely that they would be content today with the modest share for which they might have been ready to settle in 1958.

Any settlement which could win approval of the proposed international conference would fall in the pattern of Souvanna Phouma's position rather than Phoumi Nosavan's. Both the French training mission and the American military-aid mission, as already hinted, would probably be called upon to quit the Laotian scene. The American as well as the French "presence" would then have been eliminated from still another sector of "the arc of free Asia." And Laos, even so, might continue divided.

The developments that loom in the offing threaten to have far-reaching and deleterious consequences for the United States position in Southeast Asia. The Pathet Lao gains will have an important impact on the situation in neighboring South Vietnam, where corruption in the capital and a growing Communist guerrilla movement in the countryside have combined to create a political situation similar to that which existed in northern Vietnam at the time of the struggle between the Vietminh and the French. Bangkok and Manila can be expected to affirm again that their faith in SEATO has been misplaced: the inherent inability of SEATO to deal with a revolutionary *political* problem such as that of Laos will have been re-emphasized. The cause of international Communism, which the United States viewed itself as combating, will probably be substantially advanced by the Laotian development.

We have invested more than $300,000,000 in "anti-Communism" in Laos, only to lose. Yet, if this experience teaches, we can still count some gain. For there are deadly parallels in our postwar actions in China, South Korea, Formosa, Vietnam, and now Laos, that are indicative of fundamental faults in our strategy toward Asia. There is a lesson to be learned from Laos.

To learn that lesson, we must reflect on certain essentials. It is beyond dispute that both the Soviet Union and China aim at expanding their influence in Southeast Asia. Communism is indeed a major factor in the Asian scene—but so is the general tide of revolutionary change, with its accompanying demands for political and economic advancement. Those demands have deeper roots than any inherent urge toward "international Communism." The United States has heretofore been making its ties with "anti-Communists," who often turn out to be corrupt and ineffective time-servers almost entirely detached from the sentiments of their respective nations, instead of formulating its policies on the basis of consideration of those deeper Asian aspirations manifested by such representative governments as those of Burma and India.

For years, the United States government has been manipulated by Asian politicians to serve their selfish ends. The Chinese even have a phrase for the stratagem: "Use barbarians to control barbarians." Chiang Kai-shek long utilized the United States against his domestic enemies, the Chinese Communists, and now the Boun Oum government is patently employing us in a power game of Laotian domestic politics. Vientiane does not want war, for, as the Minister of Education explained in his memorable January 26 interview, "If SEATO really came in there would be international war and this country would be a battleground. Nobody really wants that." What his government has wanted is to retain power *vis-a-vis* Prince Souvanna Phouma.

Asian peoples, even as Americans, are naturally interested in their own national security, as well as in political independence and economic progress. They have no naive yearnings for Communism as such—and they have a conviction that they know as well as the United States, if not better, how to meet some of their domestic political problems. Asia has come of age.

We cannot have a viable and effective Asia policy until we learn how to align ourselves with the thinking and hopes of Asian peoples instead of with the ambitions of individual politicians maneuvering for power. The politicians in due course pass on to their respective rewards. The people remain.

On Growing Up Absurd

by MURRAY KEMPTON

New York City

OUR HALF-EDUCATED young have the habit of falling upon this city like wolves upon the fold. The beats began here, slouching towards Monterey to be born. And now there has marched upon us the direct opposite of the beat, the Young American for Freedom. He accepts everything the beats reject. The top button of his jacket is always buttoned as a conscious badge of his difference with all that is Bohemian or even casual. He exalts a gratified Barry Goldwater where the beats exalted a somewhat embarrassed St. Francis of Assisi.

Young Americans for Freedom is no older than last September, and it already claims 30,000 members, enough to impress journalism, if not history, that it is the dominant organized expression of the spirit of American youth. We have the dismal sense that some publisher will issue

a "React Anthology" to replace those beat anthologies whose fashion has withered.

To call this a sudden development would be to scant William F. Buckley's extensive missionary efforts in the academies. But there is a new spirit. YAF's predecessor, the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, which felt lonely, defensive, and under siege, confined itself to discussion. Young Americans for Freedom is an action group. Its literature pulses with the drum beats of the counter-attack which means to become the offensive; its slogan is, "The tide has turned." YAF even has a Demonstrations Committee which sends pickets to scenes of crisis. Its greatest pride to date was its dispatch of two busloads of young patriots to Washington in January to picket in support of the Un-American Activities Committee, then surrounded by Representative James Roosevelt. "They outpicketed the Communist and Leftist pickets two to one—a smashing defeat for the Communist propaganda apparatus."

Young Americans for Freedom was organized in Sharon, Connecticut, the Buckley land-grant, on a statement of principles which its journal, the *New Guard*, defines as "brief and to the point: it upholds and affirms 'certain eternal truths' among them . . . the efficacy of the market economy."

"The tide of conservatism is rising all over the United States," the *New Guard* goes on, "and we will rise with it, leaving behind those unfortunates still chained to the rotting posts of 'liberalism,' collectivism, and statism. If they wish to sacrifice themselves for a lost cause, let them do so. Nevertheless, we offer them the pincers of liberty, individualism, and initiative to free themselves of chains as rusty as the shibboleths which undoubtedly our opponents will attempt to wrap around us."

Criticism of this style is irrelevant, except as evidence of how far YAF has been captured by the institutions it goes forth to destroy. This has been the tone of sweeping political manifestoes, right and left, ever since the anarchist Michael Bakunin first made his unconscious discovery that a certain element of incoherence is essential to any proper exhortation of the disgruntled. But then too, YAF must rebel against its time in the language of its time; its script writers are products of an educational system whose most signal achievement over twenty years has been to teach its students to write English as though it were a foreign tongue.

New York, from the stance of this manifesto, is the capital city of the infidel. Yet Young Americans for Freedom has made itself comfortable here. There is even a Greenwich Village chapter, which made its debut in February in an off-Broadway cellar showing of *Operation Abolition*, the House Un-American Activities Committee film glorifying the repression of the demonstrations against its San Francisco hearings. YAF's detestation of statism does not, of course, include disgust at the sight of four policemen carrying away a limp and dripping woman. The passion of its rhetoric does not mean that Young Americans for Freedom encourages any passionate individual rebellion in action.

Douglas Caddy, YAF's national director, delights in citing the college instructor who noted with pleasure that its members always wear neckties and suits that match and are conspicuously cleaner than liberals. This is enough in itself to discourage hopes or fears that YAF needs to be taken seriously; history has seldom been made by men who consciously dressed either well or badly. In the same spirit, Fulton Lewis III, as master of ceremonies for *Operation Abolition*, YAF's main celebratory rite, habitually observes that the San Francisco students were demonstrating against law and order and that respectable persons do not conduct themselves in this fashion.

The loudest impact young Americans for Freedom has made on New York came the night of March 4 when it filled Manhattan Center with four thousand members for a ceremony of awards to Senator Goldwater and twelve other of its elders who had held the door open for the new conservative generation for so many long and lonely years. This was a muster which impressed the New York *Times* enough to give the occasion front page space, a tribute to the consequence of the far right it has not rendered since the Madison Square Garden rally to succor Senator Joseph McCarthy more than six years ago.

Such displays have brought Young Americans for Freedom its putative status, not merely as a renaissance of the conservative temper, but as the dominant youth movement of the Sixties. We are told, for example, that Barry Goldwater's *Conscience of a Conservative* is the current sales leader among college students, which, if true, is one more proof of Buckley's sound complaint that American education elevates current topical opinion above ancestral wisdom. The young man in the twelfth row of Manhattan Center, wearing a "Repeal Income Tax" button and holding a banner demanding "Conservatism Now," is thus to be described not as an artifact but as a symbol of the avenging future.

Through all their quarrels, the left and right in America have shared an annoyance at the apathy and conformity they found in the American student of the Fifties. George Sokolsky, as an instance, never spoke to a college audience without observing that he most missed there the spirit of revolt which had swept his generation, a handsome bit of nostalgia in Sokolsky's case since, as a student, he was an anarchist agitator against war. As Young Americans for Freedom laureate for journalism, Sokolsky was cheered loudest of all, and he came as close to tears as a political realist can get.

Even Buckley, who is most engaging on the platform when he embodies the wry conviction that for him there is no earthly triumph probable, seems to have been moved by this spectacle. His recollections of the moment when he accepted YAF's award to *National Review* for service to youth might have come from the distinguished Western observer describing in *Soviet Russia Today* those children of the workers who gave him the bouquet the day he first saw the Dnieper Dam.

But the young, in all sincerity, particularly deceive those of their elders they choose to echo. Organized middle age seems always to overlook the

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really important young because they have no recognizable echo and little organized voice, being originals and not copies.

Young Americans for Freedom has a certain importance, not for itself, but for the generation it reflects. That generation is not young but middle-aged. Buckley has always had a certain temptation to be led astray by paper. Once again paper and rhetoric have deceived him into thinking that Young Americans for Freedom represents revolt where the students of the Fifties represented conformity. For Young Americans for Freedom is not a revolt but the final development in a minority of full conformity with that prosperity which, I am both glad and sorry to notice, began its steady course before many of its members were born.

Real revolt has always been a species of parricide. The radicals of the Thirties were most conspicuous and least-attractive when they denounced their parents. Young Americans for Freedom, in contrast, seems a model of filial piety. One director is the son of Willard Edwards, Washington correspondent of the Chicago *Tribune*, whose orthodoxy is tempered only by his amiability. Another is Herbert V. Kohler, Jr., of Kohler, whose father was honored by YAF for his services to youth in labor-management relations, a citation roughly equal to giving General Patton the Nobel Peace Prize.

YAF's reverence for constituted authority turns out to be less absolute than Fulton Lewis III would have us believe. It seems in fact to be limited to policemen. At the Goldwater rally, there were tentative boos for President Kennedy and fully-developed ones for President Eisenhower. Young Mr. Caddy opened the ceremonies with a jocular reference to "Eleanor," presumably Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Sr., who is, while not constituted authority, a great-grandmother who might expect some respect from an acolyte at the worship of traditional values. But the revolt here would be more serious if it were not so plainly a submission to parental authority. Caddy had not even been born when the first Mrs. Roosevelt joke was told, a grisly thought until we reflect that he must have heard the first one from his father, and that he is therefore engaging in a ritual of ancestor worship. The social fabric has seldom been torn by young men who revolt only upon the instruction of their parents.

> *"Our case is astounding. For the first time in recorded history, the mention of country, community, place has lost its power to animate. . . . Our rejection of false patriotism is, of course, itself a badge of honor. But the positive loss is tragic and I cannot resign myself to it. A man has only one life and if, during it, he has no great environment, no community, he has been irreparably robbed of a human right. The loss is damaging especially in growing up, for it deprives outgoing growth, which begins with weaning from Mother and walking out of the house, of the chance of entering upon a great and honorable scene to develop in."*
>
> PAUL GOODMAN,
> in *Growing Up Absurd*

Another illusion cherished by Buckley and Sokolsky is that Young Americans for Freedom represents a return to forgotten values of the intellect. This promise could hardly survive exposure to the sound of its voice. YAF's laureate in education was Dr. Russell Kirk, caretaker of Edmund Burke's shrine. Dr. Kirk had the mischance to be the first in line of those honored. He had to sit on the stage all through the Manhattan Center rally and thus to endure a special torment for any instructor in English literature, two hours' exposure to the prose style of the American college student, beside whom Raul Castro sounds like Stendhal.

The directors of Young Americans for Freedom paraded to the microphone, one after another, each to present an honored elder and each under some arrogant compulsion to speak longer and more soggily than the person he introduced. This was the style of their tributes: To Taylor Caldwell, for writing: "Long after the puerile purveyors of pornography, etc."; Eugene Pulliam, for publishing: "An unwavering beacon of light in a sea of darkness"; William F. Buckley, Jr.: "The crest upon which young America is riding." The source for this stuff is not Edmund Burke.

So here is a movement back to first principles which seems unable to produce one spokesman qualified to be anything except a syndicated journalist or an administrative assistant, two job descriptions invented by the century they profess to detest. The YAF director is less a rebel against our time than one of its ultimate products: the young man who was taught inquiry and self-expression in a school system which allots $10.54 a year per pupil for physical education and eighty-four cents per pupil per year for library books.

Any organization of Americans who picket to keep other Americans in jail rather than to get them out starts with certain handicaps as an expression of creative dissent. But, even with this limitation, what is saddest about Young Americans for Freedom is its acceptance of most serious general evils of our social order.

YAF, for example, seems to have carried our time's particular contempt for the intellect even further than would seem absolutely required by patriotism. Miss Taylor Caldwell, YAF's laureate for writing, occasionally indicates in the pages of *National Review* that she is better educated than her novels would lead one to expect. But, even so, the standard here seems directly borrowed from the Soviet Writers Union. I could imagine Goldwater reading her novels but hardly Kirk and Buckley.

Lewis Strauss won the award for science. This was, for one thing, a peculiar choice for libertarians, since government control of science is one of the most unfortunate aspects of the state capitalism under which we seem condemned to live, and Strauss is not even a scientist but an administrator, and, in extreme cases, a policeman over scientists. The audience applauded the hydrogen bomb, among other things, and not to give an award to Edward Teller argues nothing so much as a rooted dislike for any sort of scientific inquiry.

I would not tax Buckley with distaste for serious intellectual effort;

his concerns are generally aesthetic and quite often even moral. What concerns me is the state of his juniors. As Leonardo said once, it is a poor disciple who is not better than his master. Buckley has raised a crop of of disciples most conspicuous for that entire disregard of the fundamentals of personal taste which best describes conformity. It is only natural to notice the complete adjustment the YAF member represents; there is even a sort of career here for him; a director of Young Americans for Freedom seems to walk towards an appointed and comfortable destiny.

This judgment is not expressed as criticism. There is a certain careerism in all movements of an evangelical sort, even in parody like this one. Henry James caught it in his description of Hyacinth Robinson's conversion to the anarchists. Hyacinth felt too that a flood was rising all over the world—the tide image again—"and, whatever it might fail to bring . . . it might be trusted to look after its own."

A Young American for Freedom may be further excused from the complaint that he serves himself first. By his philosophical standards, self-service is the highest form of national service. To act otherwise is to betray principle. YAF, for instance, is not indifferent to the Peace Corps; YAF is against it. The highest calling is to be assistant to the President of Timken Detroit Axle.

The Young American for Freedom seems to be notably without passion and is carefully polite to his enemies, without whose notice he would not feel himself in business. This recognition, more than anything else, defines his difference from the radical of the Thirties, beside whom he is a professional wrestler. We shall, in the wake of this movement, at least be spared the sight of the wrecked apostate. One advantage of having no ideals to betray is that you escape a middle age where your conscience keeps saying that you have sold out.

No director of Young Americans for Freedom can be told from any other. Their efforts at humor, the last defense of the individual, indicate that they have managed to conquer the impulse at the source. The "youth leader" they chose to honor was James Amstine, state chairman of the Indiana College Young Republicans and "author of various manuals and instruction pamphlets dealing with campus politics"—an educational activity which must have rejoiced Professor Kirk. Amstine opened his acceptance speech by announcing that he had not been in Albany and thus could not be blamed for igniting Governor Rockefeller's mansion, which had burned down the day before.

A career in the Republican Party seems to be a common outlet for YAF leaders; one director even started as Barry Goldwater's page. This notion of leadership may explain the exaggeration of YAF's importance which has impelled *Time* to assign a reporter to study it "in depth." There are few journalists to interpret the young except those themselves middle-aged. To be middle-aged is to remember oneself as young in the Thirties, which means to remember oneself as formally political. One's assumption has to be that any serious expression of youth in the Sixties would be political. YAF thus seems consequential to the degree that it imitates the Thirties, a decade when youth sought expression through institutions.

But Young Americans for Freedom could well be without strenuous competition on the campus precisely because the creative minority of students is anti-political and anti-institutional. For example, almost no young man of spirit would think of going to work for a union any longer; it is a caretaking job. The same apathy afflicts government. The main response of the young to the Kennedy Administration is to its Peace Corps—whose horizons are as far as a young man can go from the center of the illusion of power. The President is unlikely to attract hordes of his juniors pressing to work in the paymaster's office of the soil conservation program.

Herblock in The Washington Post

"Goodness, Are You the Beat and Angry Young Men I've Heard So Much About?"

The current radical affirmation is anti-government. It shows itself in demonstrations against the Un-American Activities Committee or in marches for a nuclear ban or in sit-downs against Southern segregation laws. The road of the radical minority is not to power but to jail. Young Americans for Freedom ascends on the campus because campus politics are no longer important.

The young Republicans cherish Goldwater above all prophets. They will be permitted to cherish him until 1964, until the professionals blow the whistle and force them to accept some other knight, in armor so tarnished as to seem indistinguishable from the black of the enemy. Trained as they are to acceptance, they will make the transition dutifully and, dulled as they are by our educational system, they will not even know enough to understand that such absurdities are not only undignified but unnecessary. But, with luck, they may become administrative assistants to especially futile Congressmen and, with time, even especially futile Congressmen themselves, or commentators on news programs sponsored by furniture stores in small towns.

I describe no particular disaster; these are not children who, if they had not taken the wrong road, might have been poets or priests. Our children will remember Young Americans for Freedom, if at all, as part of a time sadly deficient in opportunities of self-expression for ordinary young men.

AUTHOR'S NOTE: I have borrowed the title of this piece and more of its notions than I can remember from Paul Goodman, whose *Growing Up Absurd* (Random House, 1960) is an extraordinary comment on the effect of our society upon its children. Young Americans for Freedom waits for Goodman; the best I could attempt is an inferior substitute.

THE CIVIL WAR BOOM

by WILLIAM B. HESSELTINE

THE CIVIL WAR is the central event in American history. It marked a turning point in American life, the end of an old order and the beginning of a new. Out of the decisions made by the war have come a century of consequences. The United States is today the result, its society the product, and its problems the progeny of the Civil War. Small wonder it is that in 1961, a century after the war's beginnings, thousands of Americans and hundreds of Europeans gather in Civil War Round Tables, that more than forty states have Civil War Centennial Commissions, that the number of visitors to Civil War battlefields should run into hundreds of thousands, that Civil War symbols should appear as motifs on curtains, rugs, bath towels, and children's toys, that television should ready-up horse operas and even its so-called educational programs to fit Civil War themes, and that city fathers should grow beards and solemnly participate in "re-enactments" of dramatic scenes of a hundred years ago.

Much of the activity should be of interest to the cultural anthropologist. Here, ten decades after the event, the American people are engaged in a curious set of tribal rituals—celebrating, with appropriate rites and solemn ceremonies, a civic mass. Fomenting and fostering the "commemorations" is a National Civil War Centennial Commission, headed by Major General Ulysses S. Grant III—third in both direct and apostolic succession—and with a one-time advertising man as executive officer.

As might be expected, there were objectors. One group was composed of the self-conscious cynics. More than a year ago, the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, which was never abreast of the intellectual currents of its day, announced that it would have nothing to do with the Civil War; it would devote its erudite pages to the solemn pundits who knew the answers to Africa. A few other journals and columnists brayed in echo. Joining the ranks of the critics came the weepers—scared editors and frightened script-writers—who affected to think it awful that the wounds of a century should be reopened, old controversies re-examined, and old sparks of hatred fanned into a new blaze. It would be better, said the weepers, to forget the whole thing. Otherwise, someone might start using live ammunition at the re-enactment of the Battle of Manassas, and this time Joe Johnston and Stonewall Jackson might take Washington.

Neither the weepers nor the cynics need be concerned. These conventional observances, ludicrous or dangerous as they may appear to the observer without insight, indicate that the American people have adopted the Civil War. Beneath the civic celebrations, going deeper than the tourist traps and the hot dog history, lies the recognition that the tragic conflict of 1861 to 1865 was the focal point of American development.

In many ways, the Civil War was the central experience of the American people. It was both an end and a beginning—the death of the old Federal Union and the birth of the new American nation. It had far-reaching constitutional significance, giving new meanings to the established document that came from the Founding Fathers. The Civil War altered the relations between the states and the Federal government, establishing forever that the states were limited in their rights and in their spheres of action, and arrogating to the Federal government not only functions which had been exercised by the states but also others which had not hitherto belonged to any political organization.

The Civil War was important as the turning point in the military history of the world. It was the last, say the armchair strategists who pretend to pass judgment on military affairs, of the old wars, and the first of modern wars. It saw the introduction of iron-clad ships, of military aviation, and of the intricate logistics of later combat. It was a war against civilians. It was a war with military campaigns directed against the resources of the enemy. It was the first war in which the industrial potential of the victor was a primary factor in determining the outcome. And yet, at the same time, it was the last of the old wars wherein professional soldiers waged chivalrous combat and valorous deeds of individual derring-do won acclaim. It was the last war, as T. Harry Williams puts it, about which men could afford to be romantic.

Beyond the boundaries of the United States the conflict had its consequences. It marked the rise of a new nation to the ranks of the great powers of the world, increased American prestige, caused the khedive of Egypt to seek the advice and services of veteran experts, set European soldiers to studying American campaigns, and stimulated the growing of cotton in the valleys of the Nile and the Ganges. It loosened the shackles on men in Asia, and it gave new breadth to the dignity of human labor.

The Civil war stands as a paradoxical landmark in the history of human liberty. It freed millions of men of African descent from chattel slavery, yet it established precedents

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for the subversion of the freedoms of speech and the press. It saw thousands of men arrested without warrants and imprisoned without trial on the mere suspicion of opposition to the government. It saw the importation of conscription to America.

More significant in the long run than the military changes, and as extensive as the constitutional alterations, were the war's modifications of the American economy. The processes of economic change and the phenomenal growth of American wealth before the Civil War had been astonishing. Revolution had followed revolution in transportation, in agricultural production, in the spread of the factory system to textiles, to metals and mining, to leather goods, to food processing. The years after the war were to witness the completion of railroads to the Pacific coast, the extension and consolidation of rail lines east of the Mississippi, the rise and proliferation of petroleum, the development of new systems of business organization, the mechanization of agriculture, the management and stabilization of currency and credit, and the concentration of financial power in Eastern banking houses. They were to witness the rise of trusts, the growth of labor unions, the coming of cattle and wheat kings and robber barons.

Because this revolution in American economic life came at the same time as the Civil War, it is an easy conclusion that there was a causal relationship—that the war caused the rise of new masters of capital and produced the new economy. Arguments have been made—and commonly accepted—that the Civil War was economic in its origin, that it was promoted by business entrepreneurs, and that skillful and designing men directed its course and reaped the rewards of victory. In support of this interpretation there are many facts. Yet a skeptic might question whether the war was the primary cause of the revolution, whether there was anything in the economic picture of 1880 that had not been foreshadowed in 1840, and whether the same development might not have occurred had John Brown never seized Harpers Ferry, Beauregard fired on Fort Sumter, or Pickett's valiant men made their desperate charge across the bloody field of Gettysburg.

Taken together, the transformations wrought by, or accompanying, the Civil War amply warrant the interest, the civic festivals, and the pilgrimages to the holy places. The *Christian Century*, surveying the ballyhoo, recently counseled against attempts to fictionalize or romanticize the Civil War. It was dangerous to open old wounds. "Leave the Civil War to the historians and to those cysts of sectional chauvinism which feed upon the past," it advised. The advice, of course, is fundamentally sound: leave it to the historians. But the editors of the religious journal failed to consider that in America every man is an historian. Nearly every American thinks in historical terms, relates present to past events, and makes his judgments on his evaluation of experience. As students of history, the Americans are attempting to understand their own roots. "We are products of that war," declared Leslie Fishel in reply to the *Christian Century*. "If, as a nation, we are to know ourselves, we must know what shaped us. We are here, not to celebrate or to mourn, but to understand."

The attempt to understand takes many forms, and one of the more noticeable is the literary outpouring. One recent estimate declares that Civil War books are coming out at the rate of one a day. The New York Public Library, says another estimate, has 18,000 volumes on the War. Many of the new books are reprints of volumes published long ago, which have stood unread in the stacks of libraries or were drugs on the shelves of second-hand book dealers. Grant's *Memoirs*, the campaign biography of Lincoln, Jefferson Davis' *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, regimental histories, Murat Halstead's *Caucuses of 1860*, Frank Moore's stupendous *Compendium*, the diaries of nurses and of that strange genus of female whom we would now call "social workers," and the polemic writings of propagandists in the slavery controversy have been reprinted, with and without editorial deletion and commentary, in paperbacks or in deluxe and boxed editions.

In addition there are the anthologies, endlessly repetitive, which gather shorter accounts into single volumes. There is a *Lincoln Reader*, a *Lee Reader*, a *Union Reader*, a compilation called *An American Iliad*, another agglomeration named *The Blue and the Gray*, and a volume on *The Women and the Crisis*. There are "reading books" for college students. There are collected essays of contemporary historians—*Lincoln Images*, *Why the North Won the Civil War*, and a voluminous tour de force, *Lincoln for the Ages*.

University presses vie with commercial publishers in turning out books of soldiers' letters. Bell Wiley and Seale Johnson discovered the literary quality and commercial possibilities of semi-literate Confederate soldiers who spelled by ear and began a press of their own to exploit the innovation. Graduate students write biographies of generals for doctoral dissertations. Housewives sit at breakfast-room tables to write books about strategy, and one I know is intermittently compiling a Civil War Cook Book.

Surveying the literature, one wag suggested that he couldn't tell whether the North or the South was going to lose the Civil War, but he knew the publishers were winning it.

The wag was wrong. The American people are winning the Civil War. They are listening to concerts, buying recordings of Federal and Confederate songs, visiting battlefields, collecting mementos, witnessing re-enactments, watching Civil War programs on television, and in other myriad ways of folk education they are "studying history" and coming to an understanding of the central event in the experience of the nation. They are, moreover, going beyond the conflict of a century ago, to "study" other aspects of American history. Already there are "Revolutionary War Round Tables," and a steadily increasing number of books about the American Revolution, whose bicentennial will take over as soon as the final scenes at Appomattox have been re-enacted in 1965. The study of the Civil War is leading to a broader knowledge and, let us pray, to a more mature understanding of America's problems, its failures, and its successes.

The Old Mood and The New Frontier

by SIDNEY HYMAN

When John F. Kennedy took his inaugural oath, he seemed a new Adam at the start of a second creation. No force from the past could shove him where he did not want to walk nor check his step on paths of his own choice. He seemed wholly free to find within himself the means for whatever future he chose to will into being.

The sense of this being so was underlined by the contrasting figure of a gray and worn President Eisenhower who sat nearby. Here, in visual form, was the end of the era that had begun with Franklin D. Roosevelt. There would still be quarrels over the kind of monuments the chief actors merited. But the actors themselves had played out their parts to their curtain lines. In the days ahead, events would be shaped by the new generation Mr. Kennedy led.

So it seemed on Inauguration Day—but no longer.

A paradox has become quite plain since then. On the one side, the personality of Mr. Kennedy is now held in high favor by a great post-election majority of the people. On the other side, the hesitant national response to his program strongly suggests that the Eisenhower Presidency, formally ended on January 20, 1961, has retained an on-going power to dominate the nation's political psyche.

President Kennedy and his chief aides are aware of this paradoxical gap between personal popularity and political assent. They are also troubled by it. They have an action-program in mind whose agenda is far more extensive than that so far revealed. Yet they know that even their minimal objectives might be denied to them, unless they succeed first in winning to their own side the political mind of the nation that remains under the posthumous control of the Eisenhower Presidency.

I know of no modern case like the present one—no case where the Presidency passed in a regular election from the control of one political party to the control of another, yet the vanquished still managed to chain the motions of the victor to a short leash. William Howard Taft, for example, could not do this to his successor, Woodrow Wilson. Wilson could not do it to Warren G. Harding. Herbert Hoover could not do it to Franklin D. Roosevelt, nor could Harry S. Truman do it to Dwight D. Eisenhower. When the predecessor stepped down, the public adhered to the successor and allowed him a fairly wide latitude for action in his early months.

Why should the case between Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy be different?

It is not because Mr. Eisenhower left office at the height of any political success. Affairs at home and abroad were in gross disarray. Nor is it because Mr. Kennedy won only a hairline victory in the popular vote on election day. Woodrow Wilson in 1912 and 1916, and Harry Truman in 1948, were elected with a minority of the total popular vote, yet in no way were they held in check by that fact.

The key to the difference, it seems to me, rises from a complex of things.

The first is that, along with a cultural crisis, the nation under the Eisenhower Presidency suffered a loss in its power of self-education through the instruments of self-government. Specifically, in the years 1953-60, we grew accustomed to functioning as a state but not as a society. There was a government for, and in some degree, of the people, but not a government by the people. Willful "not seeing"—an old method by which the human mind corrupts itself—had as its natural consequence an anti-political kind of politics. Rips in the social fabric, economic troubles, decay in institutions of learning, weakness in the defense establishment, cracks in the alliance—these were dealt with either by walking away from them entirely, or in ways that compounded existing troubles.

With the White House as the style-setter, sentimentalism displaced argument. The will to believe displaced proofs. Personal magic displaced the rule of reason. Administration displaced policy purposes. Heady sensations displaced critical intelligence. The retreat into privacy displaced a life in the public forum. The freedom to act politically, to seek the good of democratic opportunities, seemed limited to the act of hiring a group of managers to manage the people. Good intentions, to be sure, abounded on every side. But even when the best was attempted, either the springs of the transaction were hidden from public view, or the act was announced as an accomplished fact—as if the world itself had arrived at a stage where the people could not be trusted to govern their own interests in it.

To say that this is the legacy of the Eisenhower Presidency is not to say that all would now be easy for Mr. Kennedy if only our constitutional morality was in good health. Even then, in domestic matters, he would be strained to bridge the gap between his own Presidential constituency formed by voters on a nation-wide basis and a rival Congressional constituency entrenched behind the rural-ridden mechanism of the Congress. Even then, in matters of foreign policy, he would be strained to bridge

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the gap between the physical ability of the United States to have its way in matters of war and peace, and the ability of other nation-states to deny the United States the objects on which it would exercise its will.

There was a time, perhaps as late as 1945, when the options with respect to the issue of war and peace seemed to reside mainly in the hands of the United States. The political question presenting itself was whether or not we would wish to intervene in, and so decide, a particular case or controversy. This is no longer so. On the one side, our options cannot go beyond those permitted to us by the coalition of nation-states in which we are, of necessity, a member. On the other side, there is arrayed against us the countervailing physical power of the Communist bloc states, and the intervening political power of the so-called "neutralist" or "uncommitted" nation-states. In combination, these elements render obsolete the agreeable notion that if only we choose to act we can, in our own good time, and on our own terms, settle all earthly troubles. The new truth is that we are now only one of many lords of the universe, and in our contests with the other lords, we are in for our own share of profound frustration.

Difficulties of the kind just mentioned would harass the new Administration even if it worked in the context of a healthy and vigorous constitutional morality. But the natural difficulties President Kennedy would face are now compounded by the dulling of the nation's political sensibilities during the Eisenhower years. Indifference, "not-seeing," sentimentalism, privacy, noncommitment, and, above all, managerialism still hang like a curtain of brass over the American earth. And the problem Mr. Kennedy faces of "stirring things up" outside Washington—in order to stir them up inside the legislative order in Washington—is as difficult as trying to breathe through brass.

Mauldin in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Quivering Needles

There can be no criticism of Mr. Kennedy's own efforts to stir things up in case by case situations. His Inaugural Address did honor to the power of human speech. His State of the Union message was the first true inventory in eight years of where the nation stood. The twenty-odd policy statements he has issued have all been carefully documented and cogently argued. He has restored gallantry to politics, along with some gayety. He has been careful to avoid needless irritations in the conduct of foreign affairs, while making it plain that he will not rattle under pressure.

Within the executive order proper, he has been, in ways that have been widely reported, a one-man revolution. His appointments have regenerated the human quality of a President's chief aides. He has swept away the clutter of inter-agency committees piled up by the Eisenhower Presidency. He has, as the Constitution intended, reunited power and responsibility in the person of the President. He has shown himself a master of detail, and a restless searcher for the truth about the things into which a man in his position ought to inquire. In these and in similar ways, he has more than silenced his election-time critics who said that he was not to be trusted with the Presidency because he lacked "executive experience." From a purely managerial standpoint, it is doubtful whether he has any equal in the modern history of the Presidency.

If the public sense that this is so accounts for much of Mr. Kennedy's popularity, as I believe it does, one would be warranted in saying something further: To the extent that the basis for the President's popularity sprouts from the same "management" root of Mr. Eisenhower's own popularity, it affirms the continued dominance of the managerial values that came prominently to the front in the years 1953-60. The nation, that is, is content and asks for nothing more from a President than that he should seek the possible instead of the good, let the part pass for the whole, manipulate rather than create, make workability the mark of truth, usefulness the test of value, and efficiency the proof of value.

From this follows a cruel argument which threatens to catch the Kennedy Administration—and the nation—in its net. First, the more the nation is indifferent to the need of self-education by joining in the decisions about its own political affairs, the less is it inclined to join Mr. Kennedy in any kind of purposeful political dialogue. The less it is inclined to do that, the more does it force Mr. Kennedy to adhere to the work of management and not to step forward into the realm of creative politics. And the more it does this to him, the less inclined is the nation to ask why its own direct involvement in the political process is necessary, when Mr. Kennedy is skillfully managing things all by himself.

Can President Kennedy break out of this vicious circle, and lead the nation out of it with him? His desire to do so is abundantly present. The question is how. Minute factual knowledge, however indispensable to the political process, will not lead the way out of the circle. Nor does the way out lie by way of case to case pragmatic judgments, however indispensable these, too, also are to the

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by MILTON MAYER

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political process.. The way out, if there is one at all, must begin with a restoration of the nation's political mentality as a whole—with a restoration of its power to interpret the events affecting its interests, to care that a correct interpretation be given to them, and to be ever watchful of how the interpretation agreed upon is carried out by the chief officers of the government. The way out, in short, is to revitalize American society so that its own political health can restore the health of the American state.

If this is agreed to, then a final thing remains to be said. Perhaps Mr. Kennedy has not exhausted all his Presidential means to reawaken in the nation a sense of its existence as a community of men sharing a common destiny. Perhaps an updated resort to the device of the fireside chat can win a greater degree of national assent to his *purposes,* where that assent is now confined primarily to his *person*. Yet the work of social reawakening in so vast a country as the United States goes beyond the power of any one man, even if that man is the President.

The work of social reawakening is everyone's task. It is the task of every teacher, every magazine and newspaper editor, writer, clergyman, poet, dramatist, novelist, every leader in the economic, scientific, and technological realm of our communal life. All these now stand apart from each other, so that each tends to sound tunelessly like an unattended harp when a draft of wind sweeps across its strings. There must instead be a mutual seeking for one another's spirit; a new conversation where each talks to the other; and by talking, ignites the spark that brings a self-sustaining social flame into being.

All of us in our own way must place ourselves under the injunction of a law Solon once gave to the Athenian people. Peace and order in the community, he said, are goods ardently to be desired. But if there should be a division of opinion among the people about where the best interest of the community lies, then the man who does not take sides in that division shall be punished. For, said Solon, such a man places himself above the human community on a plane reserved for the gods, and thus is guilty of blasphemy.

The Gay Recession

by PHILIP S. BROWN

I

To a great many people, the recession of the past year has been a comfortable, even gay period. For investors, the past six months have been cheering. The market value of securities listed on the New York Stock Exchange rose about $75 billion from October, 1960, to April, 1961. Standard & Poors' price index of five hundred stocks has exceeded previous records so often that new highs are no longer commented on, or even noted, in the daily press. Brokers in cities throughout the country are happy not only because of the rise in stock prices but because of the extraordinary volume of trading, greater than at any time since 1929. For some weeks, financial writers kept count of the number of five million-share days since January 1, but such days have become so frequent that most writers have now lost count. New stock issues are often heavily oversubscribed even before the offering prices are announced. The stock of one small engineering firm in Washington recently launched at seven dollars a share traded at seventeen dollars only an hour later.

Not only the financial community, but many service industries have prospered. Employes of most nondurable goods firms not subject to "inventory adjustments" have felt no insecurity, no sense of hard times. At the race tracks, the queues are longer this spring at the five-dollar windows than at the two-dollar windows.

The nature of the recession is not that there are fewer jobs but that job opportunities have not kept pace with the growth in the labor force. About one and one-fourth million more persons were employed in March of this year than in the same month a year ago; at the same time, one and a third million more persons were unemployed. Personal income, though it has fallen since last October, is also higher than it was a year ago.

In general, unemployment has been confined to industrial workers, to members of minority groups, and to teenagers. In many cities, the first two groups live apart from the rest of the community, so that their plight is unnoticed by many fellow citizens.

Even the industrial firms which are the sources of much of the unemployment have "weathered well the recent recession," one reads in many company reports. The United States Steel Corporation, for example, though it operated on the average at less than two-thirds capacity in 1960, reported a net profit equal to 8.2 per cent of sales. Investors and salaried workers have done well because product prices in most cases have been maintained by "adjusting production," a euphemism for laying off those who work for wages.

Government officials have been serene. President Eisenhower and his advisers refused to use the word "recession" during the summer and early fall of 1960. The first time Secretary of Commerce Frederick H. Mueller used the word was just be-

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fore the election, when he said the recession was over and the country was in a recovery phase. Earlier, there had been some talk about "high-level stagnation" by lower-echelon officials in the Department of Commerce.

In January, the Democrats took over and there was some uneasiness, but within a month a New York *Times* headline stated: "WALL STREET AT EASE ON NEW FRONTIER." Since then the new Secretaries of Treasury, Commerce, and Labor have assured us that recovery would begin soon. Everywhere one reads that the recession has "bottomed out"—one of the most unpleasant of the many inelegant expressions used by financial writers. Yet at this moment about five and one-half million persons are unemployed (that is, actively seeking jobs), and many more persons undoubtedly want to work but feel it is hopeless to apply for a job at this time. In addition, there is a great deal of underemployment, evidenced by the fact that about one and one-half million employed persons were forced to work part-time in March. All in all, the loss of goods and services is running about fifty billion dollars a year—or more, if we take an unemployment rate of less than four per cent to be a reasonable target.

About one out of four auto workers is unemployed; so is one out of six steelworkers. But one sees little in the newspapers about the acute distress of these and other workers unable to find jobs, more than two million of whom received no unemployment benefits in March. The financial pages, on the other hand, are full of cheery forecasts of a spring pickup in new car sales and an increase in the operating rate of steel mills.

Why is there so little agitation, so little demand for the government to do something? Partly, I think, because it is the accepted way of life in our society that wage earners are laid off periodically, whenever "the economy needs a rest" (a silly expression used by a prominent *Wall Street Journal* commentator). Why some persons, and not others, should need a rest—or why expensive machinery needs any rest at all—might be hard to explain to unsophisticated people. Yet primitive people have customs which, though different from ours, are analogous.

In some societies, anthropologists tell us, a pregnant woman continues to work in the fields until her baby is about to be born. When she does go to bed with labor pains, she is joined by her husband who groans as though he were in great pain, while she bears the child. After the child is born, the husband remains in bed with it to recover from the terrible ordeal, and the mother returns immediately to her work in the fields. Strange as this practice seems to us, it bears some resemblance to what happens during the course of recession in the United States. Wage earners are laid off without pay, but the groaning is done by merchants, building contractors, labor leaders, and politicians.

The unreality of the recession to most Americans and the resignation of those who are unemployed is reflected in the attitude of the Congress. There is no sense of emergency, no pressure from constituents, in most cases, to put people back on payrolls and "to get America moving."

The President has shown remarkable vigor. He sent to Congress during his first two months in office some remarkable documents, including several excellent programs of economic action. The statement of the President's Council of Economic Advisers before the Joint Economic Committee on March 6 is a superb analysis of the present economic situation. But all this has had no great impact. The Congress and the public, for the most part, remain complacent.

The tactic of the Administration has been to push hardest for the enactment of long-range programs in the fields of education, child welfare, minimum-wage legislation, housing, redevelopment of distressed areas, agriculture, defense, and foreign assistance—programs that would contribute to recovery but most of whose impact would come later. The only emergency measures asked of Congress have been those to lengthen the period of unemployment compensation and to give special aid to "depressed areas." The latter measure provides for both emergency and long-term programs.

To many who view the unemployment problem without long perspective it appears that people are unemployed because of "automation" and because of structural changes in the economy. They see the unemployment problem solely in terms of persons displaced by IBM computers, the switch from coal to oil and natural gas, and the increased demand for medical and other services relative to the demand for farm products and factory goods. But those who have analyzed present unemployment see no evidence that hard-core unemployment has been growing as a percentage of the labor force. The pace of mechanization has not changed appreciably.

Needed is a large-scale investment in people, to train the greatly increased flow of people into the labor force and to retrain those displaced by technological and structural changes. Even more urgent, however, is the need for fiscal and credit policies to increase total purchasing power. The considered judgment of the President's Council of Economic Advisers and many other economists is: "Adjustments that now seem difficult, and unemployment pockets that now seem intractable, will turn out to be manageable after all in an environment of full prosperity."

Several considerations appear to have dictated against a tax cut, or an immediate large increase in expenditures that would result in a swollen budgetary deficit. First, there is the President's desire to take advantage of the good will he has in the present, highly conservative Congress to push through major programs of enduring benefit to the country. Second, he has undoubtedly sensed that requests for additional emergency programs might turn Congress against him and that he might end up with no important legislative accomplishment. Third, he may fear that if the timing proved to be wrong, he might be discredited. Fourth, the President and his principal advisers have been indoctrinated with anxiety about the country's balance-of-payments position. Finally—and importantly—there is a strong fear that a large Federal deficit, however temporary, would be inflationary.

The fear of inflation continues to

deter any bold move to combat the present waste of resources, much as it did under the previous Administration. We are afraid to lower interest rates by any big addition to monetary reserves, so residential building is still restricted by high mortgage rates. We are afraid to lower taxes, lest a Federal deficit cause a rise in wages and prices, so millions of workers continue idle, despite great unfulfilled needs.

Yet other actions are affecting the nation's economic balance probably more adversely than would a temporary reduction in the Federal income tax. Boosting the prices of feed grains will increase the costs of dairymen and cattle raisers and ultimately raise food prices. Raising the subsidy on cotton exports from six cents a pound to eight and one-half cents not only impairs the competitive position of American textile firms but also hurts cotton producers in Brazil, Peru, and Mexico by lowering the world price of cotton. Paying up to $300 million in export subsidies on cotton and maintaining import quotas on lead, zinc, petroleum, sugar, and other government-supported products does not protect our international payments position, while such measures do much to aggravate those economic difficulties of Latin American and other countries which we are committed to help overcome.

The international payments problem may be with us for many years. The important thing is to avoid the trap of attempting to solve it by restrictive measures and by postponing all that is necessary to insure a fuller utilization of our resources. We should, rather, increase the magnitude of the problem by achieving recovery and then do all that is needed and appropriate to resolve this problem in its new dimensions. Full recovery is likely to increase our demand for imports by one and a half to two billion dollars a year—so the Council of Economic Advisers states—without much likelihood of a comparable rise in exports. It may be that further adjustment in the dollar exchange rates of strong currencies will have to be made eventually if we are to generate a larger surplus of exports over imports—a surplus large enough to finance expanding private investment abroad and increased government aid to less-developed countries.

Herblock in The Washington Post

"I Was Hoping We Could Get Together Alone"

What should be the fiscal and monetary policies of the Federal government, taking account of political as well as long and short range economic considerations? Surely, no one who is both informed and intellectually honest can speak with assurance. But the President's Council of Economic Advisers leans toward the view, repeatedly voiced by its chairman, that the present tax structure would generate too large a revenue surplus under conditions of full employment and, for this reason, is inconsistent with the achievement and maintenance of full employment.

The President has acted with great vigor and, at the same time, "conservatively," in the public's estimation. But what now appears conservative and least risky may turn out to be the opposite. Should there be a severe break in the stock market and should economic activity in the spring months be no greater than in the first quarter—despite a borrowing-from-the-future speed-up in government procurement, disbursement of insurance dividends, tax refunds, and so on—then what appears the most cautious and conservative course may turn out to have been a risky gamble.

It is not always easy to detect the direction of political and economic winds. When one stands at the foot of the Washington Monument, or in the canyons of Wall Street, the apparent direction is often deceptive. It is better, I think, to rely on reports from all the great employment centers. Most of them are now flying distress signals. Two-thirds of the 150 major labor markets in the United States now have "substantial labor surpluses" and all others have "a moderate surplus," according to the latest survey of the Department of Labor.

Further, there is less danger today of bad timing—less risk that the impact of slow-starting government projects will come too late to aid recovery and instead aggravate an inflationary boom. As Walter Heller, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, said in his statement to the Joint Economic Committee: "The decline began from a position of substantial unemployment and excess capacity. We face a stubborn problem of chronic slack, and the road to full recovery is a long one. The expansionary effects of government programs will be welcome even if they occur well after the recession has been reversed."

The risk of continued high unemployment a year or two hence is greater, I think, than the risk of present unpopularity that might result from the President's recommending—and Congressmen voting for—a larger budget deficit for the ensuing year. The President and Congressmen must separately assess economic developments and stake their political futures on this assessment. The voting public in November, 1962, will not be charitable to those officials who guessed wrong because the public too was in error.

It would be better, however, if people were aware *now* of the magnitude of the unemployment problem and would urge the Congress to adopt immediately fiscal policies to achieve more nearly full employment and to begin the massive investment in human resources that is needed if the great number of young people entering the labor force in the 1960's are to be equipped for the kinds of jobs that will be available.

PEACE through DISARMAMENT

by W. H. FERRY

This is the first of a series of articles to be published over the coming months which will explore the general area of disarmament. W. H. Ferry, a former newspaperman and public relations consultant, is vice president of the Fund for the Republic. Mr. Ferry's article is adapted from an address before the American Association for the United Nations and represents his views as an individual citizen, not as an official of the Fund.

—THE EDITORS

LET US imagine that Nikita Khrushchev has recalled Machiavelli from the Sixteenth Century and asked his advice on how to achieve his main aims. And let us assume that chief among these aims is eventual domination of the globe. I think that Machiavelli might say something like this:

"Prince, it is obvious that your weapons cannot assist you in achieving a single important aim. If you use them, whatever the situation or pretext, three things will follow. First, you will render some of the choicest industrial and building sites on earth useless and uninhabited. Second, you will be fearfully bombed yourself, which cannot be expected to endear you to your subjects. Third, those people now labeled neutral and uncommitted will never trust or follow your lead. I am sure we agree that your stockpiles of great bombs and missiles are good only for national vanity, perhaps to balance the arms of your adversaries, but otherwise far more trouble than they are worth."

Machiavelli continues: "We both know also that the remarkable gains that your country has made in the last half-generation have been made not mainly by force of arms but by deviousness. You have succeeded by infiltration. You have provided simple Communist answers to immense problems of social organization for people who want to share in the plenty of industrial society. Your diplomacy has been wily and farsighted. Your encouragement of scientific development has won you respect, if not friendship, in many parts of the world. You have a considerable accomplishment in the field of peaceful economic competition. And despite heavy arms burdens you have so far managed to keep your own subjects relatively happy; though I must confess that they appear to be far easier to satisfy than I would be.

"What I wish to propose, Prince, is that you lay down your arms. Not today or tomorrow, but after preparation of the kind I shall now outline. First, and most difficult, you must bring China into your plan. Second, you must make more menacing noises at the West, more menacing even than you made at the Summit in Paris and at the United Nations in New York. The object here is to get the West to commit itself even more extensively to arms build-ups, and to enter into more and more 'defense' pacts and economic aid agreements with other countries.

"Next, your various negotiators in Geneva and elsewhere will denounce their opposite numbers from the West as intractable and thirsting only to go to war. Fourth, you will prepare your nation for peactime production and life. You will make plans for shifting missile and arms factories into civilian goods. You will figure out how the officers and men of the Russian army can be converted into schoolteachers, mechanics, technical assistance teams for overseas assignments, farmers, civil servants, white collar workers, colonizers. This will all take time but should not be a difficult problem since yours is a systematic economy whose ends and means are directed from the top. These arrangements can, moreover, be made publicly, for the West can be trusted not to believe its eyes. Evidence of peace preparations on your part, it may be confidently predicted, will be regarded in Washington as preparation for war.

"In the next step, you will call a special meeting of the United Nations and give your call so portentous a sound that the heads of state of the entire world will come to New York. You will announce that, as of the date of your address, Russia is disarming down to the arms needed for domestic police. The army is being disbanded. Military detachments are being recalled and demobilized. The assent of China, and its cooperation in this action, has been obtained. The borders of the U.S.S.R. will henceforth be open to all. Anyone who cares to do so may inspect any part of Russia without hindrance.

"Russia is taking this unprecedented action, you will say, because it is genuinely a peace-loving power. Russians see that the arms race can have no end except war of an immensity that will leave the world bloody and impoverished for generations. Against its wishes the Soviet was forced into the arms race by the West. Now, at the height of its power, demonstrably able to excel in this frightful competition, Russia chooses to act for humanity. For it is now clear that to continue to prepare for war is sooner or later to bring war on. There can be no winners, only losers, in modern war. The Soviet Union is confident, moreover, that in a world at peace its aims will be achieved because of the superiority of its doctrines.

"The atomic materials of the Soviets will be delivered to the United Nations, except for those amounts needed for peaceful atomic power plants in Russia and other countries. Russia offers to take a leading part

in the formation by the United Nations of a multi-nation Peace Force. Interplanetary rocket research by the U.S.S.R. and the other scientific developments of the utmost significance to mankind will likewise be denationalized and turned over to the United Nations."

Machiavelli pauses for a long moment and resumes. "And then, Prince, you say what you intend to do with the capital set free by unilateral disarmament. You are, I believe, spending something around thirty billion dollars a year for war? This, the United Nations learns, will be committed in the future as follows: fifteen billions to the upbuilding of the Soviet economy, and that of its neighbors and old friends. The next ten billion is to be spent, beginning at once, to meet the needs of the so-called neutral and underdeveloped countries. The last five billion is to be set aside—and, Prince, if I do say so myself, I think this is rather a pretty suggestion—this final five billion will be set aside for the use of the United States and its allies—to be thought of as a reverse Marshall Plan. This is not only a poetic but a necessary provision, since the West clearly has no plans whatever for coping with peace."

Machiavelli stands and looks down at Khrushchev. "Prince, you end this most memorable of speeches with a statement of your expectations. You expect that some of the satellites—Poland, Hungary, Rumania, others—will pull away—but you expect also that they will return before long. Where, after all, will they have to go?

"You expect that the neutral and ambitious new nations will turn to the Soviet in gratitude. You expect that Africa and Indonesia will come to your side with pledges of good will, and that it will not be long before South America throws off its thralldom to the United States to join you. In the United Nations, Russia's voice will instantly become the dominant one. You expect that the Soviet's offer of capital and technical assistance will be everywhere accepted.

"You do not expect that the United States or other Western nations will bomb Russia—what good would it do? You do not expect that the West will attempt to take over Russia and China. You expect that the force of world opinion will stifle such suggestions before they are even made. The West will, in any case, be facing the prodigious task of keeping its own economies afloat. You expect that the United Nations will accept the several challenges you have laid before it: making vast new stocks of atomic materials available where they will be of the most use, enormously extending technical assistance, and forming an international Peace Force.

"Alas, because of the suspicions which have been converted into the way of life called the Cold War, the West cannot be expected soon to follow your lead. No, the West must be expected to disbelieve you indefinitely, and thereafter to spend years inspecting and probing into every cave in the Urals, every snowbank in Siberia.

"Most of all you expect that the West will be thrown into the utmost confusion. Think of its international arrangements—pacts, economic aid, CIA adventurers, military bases, and exports of troops—billions in bases, submarines, warning systems, and the like. Think of all of this as the response to a single image of Russia, the image of a bloodthirsty and crafty beast, all claws and fangs, waiting to pounce. I need not elaborate this figure of speech, for it is the picture you have sought to give your own subjects of the West. But think what happens when, in a twinkling, this beast is transformed into a harmless dove.

"Confusion is doubtless too mild a description of what would ensue in the West. The domestic economy, especially of the United States, would be thrown into great disarray—how great may be surmised by the total unwillingness of its leaders to make the slightest preparation for peace. Should they keep on making Polaris submarines, a full line of missiles, war planes, and so on? Why? What for? Hard questions for the West to answer.

"But what you finally expect is that your step will lead to peace. Peace, peace, there's the idea. You will offer your assistance to the United Nations not only in getting an international Peace Force under way but in the far more immediate task of keeping down the distribution of atomic weapons and gas and microbes to other nations. You could come close to dictating in the United Nations how these controls and curbs are to be imposed. You may expect your good offices to be used in many places besides the United Nations, for you will now be known as the nation that broke the most vicious circle man has ever known, the circle of lethal logic. But now I am getting into details, and I shall desist. As you see, my advice is simply conceived: it merely reverses the present attitude. In a word, disarm to parley—and win. Think it over, Prince."

And Machiavelli returned to the Sixteenth Century.

Justus in The Minneapolis Star

"Wish I Could Quit This Stuff"

I favor unilateral disarmament by the United States. In advocating it, I do not wish to be associated with Machiavelli. Peace is the purpose I have in mind, not domination. How many of the effects of unilateral disarmament that Machiavelli held before the Prince's gaze would result from such action on our part I leave to your judgment. By unilateral disarmament I mean that this country should lay down its arms, scrap its war planes, missiles, and submarines, disband its troops, and leave itself only the organization and weapons needed for local police and for normal patrols of its borders. I should want such a step to be taken only after informing those with whom we have alliances of our intentions and giving them time to make their own plans. I see nothing wrong with similarly informing the Soviets and much to gain by doing so. The object is

peace, not scoring points on Russia.

Plans for dealing with the unprecedented psychological and economic strains on our country would have to be made. I would put the best brains in the country to work on the question: How would power be used in international affairs if war were forsworn as an instrument of policy? President Eisenhower's dictum was that "war is unthinkable." In a reversal, many Americans today believe that peace is unthinkable. The difficulty is in the American imagination. It is not disarmament that so much bothers the citizenry as the inability to imagine how arguments would thereafter be settled.

I do not think unilateral disarmament would be pleasant, or painless, or easy for the country to bear. I think only that it is not only more moral but more practical than the alternative—thermonuclear war. It is here, it seems to me, that the argument must be joined: these are the alternatives. Now, if I am willing to espouse so drastic a measure, I am required to accept the most drastic consequences that anyone can think of. No one has yet said that he believed the Russians would bomb this country, or any other country that had been rendered defenseless by withdrawal of our atomic arsenal and military apparatus. The most drastic consequence seen by most is that the Communists would take over.

This is a fiercely disagreeable prospect. But by terms of the argument, I must accept that this might or will happen: Congress turned into a puppet, our governors replaced by functionaries from the Kremlin, jackbooted soldiers with Red Stars on their shoulders on streetcorners, and Communism replacing democracy as the American way of life. I do not believe that this would be the outcome. But I must be willing to agree on the worst results of my policy that anyone can foresee. My opponents might, after all, be right.

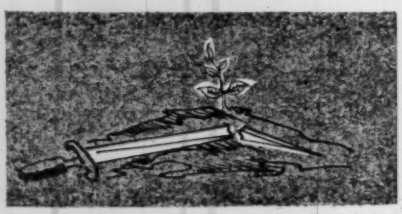
Where they are absolutely wrong is in declaring that, because they think it will happen, Communist domination is the purpose of my proposal. I think that democracy is demonstrably the most just form of government. I regard freedom and justice as the navigating stars for mankind. I differ mainly with my critics, perhaps, in having a higher respect for the durability of these virtues.

The alternative to disarmament is war. My opponents, who favor preparing for war, must be willing to go to war, and must be willing to argue that when nuclear war comes, it will prove to be a better way of accomplishing American aims than the method I am proposing. My opponents in turn must stipulate the most drastic consequences of the course they advocate, as I have done.

A semi-official estimate says that a "moderate attack" on the United States would kill sixty million at once, seriously injure another twenty million, and destroy about half the homes and thirty-five per cent of the industry of the nation. Add the twenty to thirty million Russians that we might be able to destroy in retaliation. Add also the elimination from the face of the earth of the whole of Great Britain, large parts of West Germany, France, Turkey, and other countries serving as advance missile bases.

The main justification of our present policy is that arms and more arms are the only way to provide national security. This is a curious proposition. We have been spending larger and larger amounts for many years, and today we feel far less secure than when we started. Kenneth E. Boulding remarks that "unconditional national security . . . is a commodity which is no longer on sale, and which cannot be purchased at any price."

The next claim is that the theory of deterrence has proved itself. This is an even more curious argument. Both sides have the capacity any day to upset the balance by creating new weapons. What will happen to the balance when China and other ambitious nations get the bomb? Presumably the world would then be ruled by terror alone. If we are so certain that the famous balance is the only way to be secure, we ought to make sure that the Russians are exactly as strong as we are, sharing our technologies to this end.



A third pillar of present policy is described in those classic phrases of contemporary Newspeak, "arm to parley" and "negotiate from strength." The American aptitude for confusing slogans with success is at its highest here. I seem to hear in these phrases the accents of Micawber waiting for something to turn up, not the determination to secure peace. We are nearing the half-trillion dollar mark in arms costs, and we are assured that in all the world there is none so mighty. But negotiations are bogged down everywhere in the marshes of suspicion and hate.

Finally, we are told we must have ironclad arms control and inspection agreements. On close examination we see that we are setting up an impossible condition. There is no way, for example, of detecting arsenals of germ, gas, and poison warfare. Neither Russia nor this country appears disposed in the slightest to take the lead in the United Nations in establishing the minimum international machinery that would be needed to prevent a disarmed nation from rearming if it decided to do so. The quarrels about arms control make it evident that it will be far easier to get rid of all arms than of some of them, or a few at a time. Behind all the thunder about ironclad agreements is the inescapable realization that there is no way of destroying the knowledge of how to make modern instruments of war. Inspection itself is institutionalized distrust. An inspection system, far from representing basic agreement, must always stand as a reminder of perilous disagreement.

We are deluding ourselves when we think that we can defend the undefendable, control the uncontrollable, and inspect the uninspectable. The villain in today's great melodrama is not Russia, not the United States, but the versatility of technology. If any system of restraint and non-recourse to arms can be made to work in the face of this versatility, it will have to be self-imposed. The inspecting and controlling and policing will have to be done by each nation as a matter of honor and good politics. Self-restraint is not difficult when we know that the penalty is

death; out of such realization self-policing becomes habit.

I think that few of the drastic consequences described earlier would result from unilateral disarmament. I do not think that the Soviets would attempt to take over the United States. They have more on their plate already than they can digest. There is a limit to the ability of any nation to run the world in the face of a unanimously adverse public opinion. If the Soviet were to disarm tomorrow, would *we* know how to set about running things throughout the Red bloc, assuming for the moment the desire to do so? Would we know how to use our arms to cope with the resistance we would meet everywhere at attempts to dominate? I think not.

There is some reason to expect that the reaction from other countries, including some of our allies, would be that of gratitude and thanksgiving. They are not dazzled by technology's triumphs, nor do they have the heady sense of power that accompanies immense strength. Theirs has not been the good fortune to live in a rich nation, geographically insulated from the wars of recent generations, theirs not the sensations of inherent superiority that such luck has engendered in the American people. They are merely frightened, and hoping against hope that the two great threatening brutes will find a way to live together before the worst occurs. The weight of world opinion will be thrown to that nation that acknowledges the futility of the arms race and takes the irrevocable step toward ending it. Much as we may deceive ourselves about more and more arms adding up to peace, we do not deceive others who know from experience that such preparations have never yet spelled anything but ultimate conflict.

The United States can scarcely be much interested in unilateral disarmament when it does not favor complete and general disarmament. If it did, it would leap at Khrushchev's repeated offer to "work out any type of controls" the West would like to have in return for our agreement to total disarmament in four to five years. As I read the evidence, there is little interest in Washington in any kind of disarmament, to say nothing of total disarmament. We are opposed to any brand of disarmament because we cannot imagine how we would fare under conditions of peaceful competition.

Herblock in The Washington Post

"Anyhow There's A Definite Disarmament Gap"

A great impediment to consideration of unilateral disarmament—to almost any kind of disarmament—is the mass media—our newspapers and television. With no important exception they stand in pious adoration of present policies. There is no criticism. What little debate goes on is about whether we are spending enough, and on the right hardware. One would think that by this time anyone, even a television commentator or an editorial writer, would know that there is no defense. They have the direct testimony of former President Eisenhower on this point. But there is no statement made by "our side," no matter how self-evidently nonsensical it may be, that is not received with editorial raptures. At the same time anything said by the other side is condemned as propaganda. So we have the unedifying spectacle of the networks first filling our eyes with puffs from the Pentagon and then solemnly denying air time to Khrushchev on the ground that they do not want Americans to be taken in by propaganda.

It is the press that demands of candidates an irreproachable ferocity toward Russia. Since it has abandoned its own duty to criticize the so-called defense effort, the press looks on other critics as crazy or disloyal. I suspect that a disinterested observer would not find much to choose between in a comparison of the performance of the controlled Russian press and the free American press in this respect. Related to the uncritical acceptance of the premises and programs of the cold war is the press' remorseless portrayal of the Soviets as the Ultimate Evil, now and forevermore. It is instructive to speculate on what the press will do if, as strategists are suggesting, it becomes politic for this country to ally itself with Russia against the awakening leviathan, China.

Fundamentally, the question of disarmament is less practical than moral. There are many dramatic ways of posing the moral issue. Let me take two sentences from a letter to an English newspaper. The letter says, "One of my earliest memories is a film about the Lidice massacre, in which the population of one village was wiped out. I am now asked to approve plans for the elimination of whole cities, if not whole countries, and perhaps even of the human race."

I must confess that I do not know what to make of the moral question. I believe in man's moral sense, in his conscience as the guide away from the evil and toward the good. My answer to the moral question is that I would not vote for nor contribute in any way to the destruction of millions of people, their homes, and their civilization no matter what the pretext or provocation. And what of the tremendous majority of my countrymen, equipped with consciences and moral sensibilities every bit as good as my own, whose answer to the button-pressing question is just the opposite, and on whose express consent our present policies are based?

I believe peace to be better than war, survival better than suicide, civilization better than barbarism, compassion better than vengeance. Unilateral action represents those virtues better than any other approach that I know about. Unilateral disarmament is far from a perfect solution to history's most tangled conundrum, but there is no perfect solution. Our choice is limited and ranges only from the repugnant to the impossible.

The successful continuation of the cold war program for years ahead

would be the next worst thing to war itself in its effects. Slogans have been so successfully substituted for the truth that efforts to peek behind them are denounced as treasonable, or as debilitating to the general "will to resist." If public discussion has already become so corrupted, think what it will be after another decade of increasing economic dependence on the arms race and increasing psychological dependence on the image of the enemy.

Under the impact of the arms race, science has become prime minister of the realm. Wisdom, politics, and morals have all been ousted from our highest councils by science, whose injunction is to do whatever it is possible to do. The result is a dehumanization of society and the brutalizing of us all. We are well content to know that we now have the ability to overkill Russia eight or nine times. How long has it been since any political leader has inquired whether it is wise to continue on our present course? So far has the de-humanization of man progressed that few even notice any more that wisdom and compassion have gone, and thought dispossessed by technology. The degrading of our common life is so far advanced that it is hard to imagine a weapon development that would occasion general public revulsion.

Unilateral disarmament is dictated both by practical self-interest and by a moral concern for civilization and the future of humanity itself. These cannot be served by thermonuclear war. The third and last world war will produce no victor, only the vanquished. No one has shown how thermonuclear war can assure the survival of American institutions and values. Unilateral disarmament would be a great nation's attempt to turn away from technology toward wisdom, away from armed force toward new conceptions of politics and power.

Unilateral disarmament has been attacked as the counsel of cowardice. Yet it would take great courage and vision and confidence in American ideas to put down our arms for the sake of humanity. It takes neither courage nor vision, only taxes, to keep on our present course. Unilateral disarmament is not a simple or agreeable prescription; it is merely the only practical, and the only moral, alternative.

That Clouded Kennedy Mandate

by PHILIP E. CONVERSE

A SLIM popular vote margin, along with the caprices of the electoral college, were sufficient to put John F. Kennedy in the White House. But the election was a "cliff-hanger," with a vote spread between the two candidates as negligible as any in American history. Whatever else may be said of the national endorsement of Kennedy, it lacked enthusiasm. Thus the mandate expressed in November has itself come into question; the signs in Congress and elsewhere indicate caution lights along the road to the New Frontier.

The first voting statistics made it clear that in many parts of the country Kennedy failed to keep pace with other Democratic candidates on state tickets, although the lag was smaller than that suffered by Adlai Stevenson in 1956. Nonetheless, the difference has been enough to prompt inquiry. Was Kennedy a relatively unattractive Democrat, or was Richard Nixon a relatively attractive Republican? For purposes of future political strategy, the answer to this question is important.

Further study of the November vote tallies has convinced most observers that religion played an important role in the outcome. Where Catholics were concentrated, Kennedy did well relative to recent voting patterns; where Catholics were largely absent, as in the South, he lost ground. With the imprint of religion clear, what was the net effect of these cross-currents? Predominant opinion has been that Kennedy gained more than he lost as a result of his faith. If this were true, then the mandate granted Kennedy would become murkier still, for both candidates agreed that religion should play no part in the voters' decision. The fact remains, however, that it did. But with no more than raw voting statistics in hand, the actual *net* effect of religion in 1960 has remained disputable.

A more intensive study conducted by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan, in which a national sample of the electorate that had first been interviewed in connection with the 1956 Presidential election was revisited in 1958 and 1960, has now yielded a more detailed picture of the currents of opinion which shaped the 1960 outcome. This survey makes it possible to specify, in terms of past political behavior, how the Kennedy-Nixon standoff arose, and hence to shed light on other unresolved questions about the policy significance of the 1960 election.

First, we should dispose of two common misconceptions. It is natural to compare Kennedy's 1960 triumph with the 1956 Presidential vote. Against such a baseline, we might say that Kennedy drew a relatively strong Democratic vote, some eight per cent more of the two-party vote division than Adlai Stevenson had captured. Yet the 1956 baseline is thoroughly misleading. Eisenhower's second landslide victory was fashioned when one-quarter of the voters who were normally Democratic crossed party lines to support him. The vote proportion which he achieved was the strongest nationwide Republican vote since

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1928. It was, moreover, a personal victory: other Republicans on the same ticket in 1956 did less well across the nation than Richard Nixon in 1960. Furthermore, Eisenhower's astonishing personal popularity failed to affect the underlying party loyalties of the electorate. In terms of enduring psychological attachments, there was the same clear Democratic majority in the land in 1960 that there had been in 1952. When there are no unusual circumstances creating transient tides against them, the Democrats can normally expect to win national elections. In these terms, then, it is less to the point to ask why Kennedy made such handsome gains over Stevenson's record in 1956 than to ask why he failed to match "normal" Democratic expectations.

A second misconception about the election has grown up among observers well aware of the underlying Democratic majority. That Kennedy drew only half of the popular vote means that once again in 1960 more Democrats than Republicans defected from their normal party. However, it is easy to be misled by crude vote statistics as to who these defecting Democrats were. It was often assumed during the campaign, for example, that Nixon's hopes for victory depended upon the number of Eisenhower Democrats he could keep in the Republican column. When Nixon lost, it was concluded that he had narrowly failed to retain enough of them. However, interview materials drawn from the same voters since 1956 contest this interpretation. Nixon did retain some of the 1956 Eisenhower Democrats, but remarkably few. Indeed, if the only Democratic votes won by Nixon had been those retained from the Eisenhower majority, he would have gone down to a stinging fifty-four to forty-six defeat. He was spared such a catastrophe by support from a sizeable new stream of Democratic defectors, people who had voted for Stevenson in 1956.

This is a point of first importance. The 1960 Presidential vote division, lower than that which the Democrats might normally expect, represented little carry-over from the 1952 and 1956 Presidential campaigns. Voter interviews suggest that Eisenhower's personal appeal did not rub off on Nixon any more effectively than it had on the Republican Party as a whole. The fact that it was largely a new set of Democrats who defected in 1960 is in itself ample evidence that the motives shaping the 1960 vote were quite independent of those aroused by the Eisenhower candidacy.

The new currents in 1960 had to do with the Kennedy-Nixon duel itself. The more normal victories registered by other Democrats indicate that there was no general public indignation about the behavior of the Democratic Party as a whole such as colored the 1952 election. Yet to a surprising degree, the public images of Kennedy and Nixon as candidates flowed from common stereotypes of their respective parties. Nixon's primary liability, as registered in voter evaluations, was the simple fact that he was a Republican. Kennedy received comparable support as a bearer of the Democratic label. Nixon's forte in the public eye was the "experience" theme, supported by memories of his foreign tours. This theme blended smoothly with the general public's greater confidence in Republican management of foreign affairs, stemming from several war experiences under Democratic Administrations. On the other hand, the kind of popular confidence which Nixon commanded in foreign affairs was entrusted to Kennedy where domestic social and economic problems were concerned. Here again, Kennedy had tuned his campaign to play on the strengths of his party. Had the images of the two candidates been arrested here, the 1960 Presidential vote would have approached a straight party contest, with Kennedy taking a comfortable victory.

But the Kennedy image in particular had unique elements which went beyond party stereotypes. The public was notably impressed, for example, by Kennedy's quick intelligence, a trait which drew more favorable comment than Stevenson's obvious intellectual qualifications had inspired in earlier years. Similarly, Kennedy's youthfulness seemed more of an asset than a liability. While some of the praise reserved for Nixon's experience may have hidden a concern over Kennedy's age, the majority of direct references to his age were positive, expressing a desire for "new blood" at top levels of government. Kennedy's personal wealth, on the other hand, drew some fire, leading to invidious comparisons with Nixon's background as a "self-made man."

Justus in The Minneapolis Star

Last Chance?

By all odds, however, the dominant item in the Kennedy image for the average voter was his Catholicism, and most reactions expressed were thoroughly negative. Without any prompting on the subject, this most clamorous of silent issues was injected into the interview by nearly forty per cent of the respondents in the national sample, Catholics included. There is reason, furthermore, to suppose that not everyone concerned about the matter spoke freely about it. By actual count, negative references to Kennedy's faith were far more numerous than any other single evaluative theme—policy, party, or personal—concerning Kennedy as a candidate.

These expressions of hostility on religious grounds reached their crescendo among just those Protestant Democrats, many of them erstwhile Stevenson supporters, who decided in 1960 to switch to Nixon. An unusually large proportion of these voters expressed the feeling that they were voting less *for* Nixon than *against* Kennedy. Ironically, some of these people indicated that aside from religion they considered Kennedy the better candidate, but they could not bring

themselves to vote for a Catholic. In other cases it seems the religious problem forced normal Democrats to cast about for a positive image of Nixon. One Protestant Democrat who had stated a preference for Nixon because of his greater experience in foreign affairs was later asked if her attitude toward Nixon had ever changed. She replied that she had formerly disliked Nixon but started to look for something good about him after the Democrats nominated a Catholic. Such was the power of the religious question in 1960.

There is tentative evidence that strong initial anti-Catholic reaction among Protestants lost some of its fury as the campaign progressed. Perhaps the best account of this process points to the kind of information held by Protestant Democrats at different stages in the campaign. In August and September the large masses of uninformed voters knew little about Kennedy save that he was the Democratic nominee and a Catholic. The latter fact came as a cold shock to Protestants and, standing alone, left many Protestant Democrats intending to cast an indignant vote for Nixon. The progress of the campaign, however, served to fill in other parts of the Kennedy image. He was not only a Catholic, but vigorous, intelligent, and personally charming. It is likely that some of the less ardent anti-Catholics gradually found reason to stomach their displeasure and vote Democratic after all.

Moreover, it is undoubtedly true that the television debates played a role in these attitude changes during the campaign. The debates were widely viewed: Among those citizens who were later to cast a vote, almost eighty-five per cent reported having watched at least one of the programs. People who watched the debates were more likely to have changed their vote intentions during the campaign than were the minority who did not see any of the programs. Not all of the profit went to Kennedy: There were some Democrats who had planned to vote for Kennedy but thought Nixon did a better job in these face-to-face contests and ended voting for him. But it is clear that the majority of the public judged Kennedy to have "won" the debates. It was undoubtedly during these performances that many Protestant Democrats decided that Kennedy was other things as well as a Catholic.

The fact that anti-Catholic indignation became modified in the course of the campaign should not, however, make us lose sight of its substantial impress upon the final vote. If we divide Protestant Democrats according to their reported regularity of church attendance, we find that defections to Nixon were most numerous among the most faithful Protestants. Almost forty per cent of all Protestant Democrats in the habit of attending church regularly crossed party lines to vote for Nixon in 1960. Among those who attend church "often," the figure was closer to thirty per cent. Those attending church "seldom" defected at a rate of about fifteen per cent. Only about six per cent of those nominal Protestants who never attend church defected, and this low figure is roughly what may be expected in any election.

Although only a small portion of the public considers itself to be "Independent," with no party leanings whatsoever, it should be noted that the same pattern emerges in this "Independent vote": Regular church-going Protestant Independents voted more than four to one for Nixon, with the Republican vote sloping off to a rough fifty-fifty among the most nominal Protestants. It seems fair to assume that these unusual deviations, so clearly correlated with Protestant church attendance, reflect the religious factor in 1960, since they are patterns unfamiliar to us from earlier elections. They give a useful estimate of Kennedy's anti-Catholic losses among Democrats and Independents.

First, however, any balance sheet must take account of the fact that some of the Kennedy losses were being recouped by a bonus of unusual Catholic votes. If the 1956 election were to be taken as a baseline in estimating the size of this bonus, it would appear enormous. After having split their votes almost evenly in the Eisenhower elections, Catholics gave Kennedy an eighty to twenty endorsement. Yet Catholic Democrats, like Protestant Democrats, had defected to Eisenhower in 1956 at about a twenty-five per cent rate. As among Protestants, furthermore, the fundamental division of party loyalties among Catholics remained quite stable over this period: Catholics normally cast a strong Democratic vote, approaching a two to one ratio. In 1958, a year when short-term political tides were mildly favoring the Democrats, the Catholic Congressional vote went well over seventy per cent Democratic. Therefore, while the Kennedy figure of eighty per cent represented a handsome bonus and one utterly necessary for his victory, his gains from Catholics were hardly as overwhelming as they appear if the 1956 Presidential vote is taken in some strange sense as a "normal" Catholic response.

Since almost all of this Catholic vote lies outside the South, it is interesting to consider the South as a case apart in arriving at a summary

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of Kennedy's gains and losses on the religious issue. Disgruntled Protestant Democrats and Independents appear to have shifted enough votes away from Kennedy on religious grounds to account for somewhat less than four per cent of the total vote cast outside the South. Meanwhile, Kennedy was gaining more than five per cent of this non-Southern vote as a premium beyond normal expectations from Catholics. The net effect of religion outside the South was nearly a stalemate, although Kennedy did enjoy a slight net advantage in the interchange. Within the smaller Southern vote, his gains among the rare Catholics must be accounted as negligible, amounting to less than one per cent of the votes cast. At the same time, he was losing more than fifteen per cent of the Southern popular vote in defections to Nixon among normally Democratic voters who were at the same time faithful Protestants.

Translation of these figures to the framework of the full national vote shows that the overall effect of religious feeling in 1960 was a net loss to Kennedy of two to three per cent of the popular votes cast, although it must be remembered that these losses centered in the South. Save for religion, then, it seems that Kennedy might have won a comfortable fifty-two to fifty-three per cent of the popular vote. This is a figure not greatly below the average Presidential majority in elections over the years. It is as well a figure which approaches what must be considered "normal" Democratic expectations in the current period.

The significance of the Kennedy mandate must depend in the final analysis, then, upon judgments as to the status of the religious issue. If religion is accepted at face value as a criterion for Presidential choice, it is clear that all of the data have been in since November, and the mandate accorded Kennedy by the public scarcely deserves the name. If, as the candidates suggested, religion should not have been at issue, then Kennedy's mandate cannot be judged by the vote alone. Even with religion aside, it was by no means a strong endorsement, as these things go. But it was at least a "dull-normal" victory, and hardly the creature of fortune that it appeared on the surface.

South Africa Runs Against the Tide

by JULIUS LEWIN

When the Bar Council of Johannesburg, the most sophisticated city in all Africa, elected a chairman for 1961, it chose an avowed Communist. Although Americans may rub their eyes on reading this fact, it was not considered sufficiently newsworthy to be reported in any daily newspaper in the Union of South Africa.

This is just one example of the many paradoxes that appear in the public life of a country deeply divided among races and creeds. Communism as a creed was outlawed more than ten years ago. It is, indeed, a serious libel to call any man a Communist because it would imply that he should be put under the heavy legal disabilities which the law can impose on Communists. But Abram Fischer, the chairman of the Bar Council, was officially listed as a Communist years ago, and he will tell you, with his charming smile, that he has no reason to hide the fact.

Fischer comes from an old and respected Afrikaner family. His father was a judge of the Supreme Court in the Orange Free State, the least free of all the states of the Union of South Africa. His grandfather was prime minister of the state when it was a British colony before joining the Union. "Bram" himself was a Rhodes scholar who acquired his left-wing outlook at Oxford in the 1930's. Returning to his own country, he built up a lucrative law practice and became a Queen's Counsel long ago. He receives briefs both from big mining corporations and from small left-wing attorneys. He has been one of the leading lawyers for the defense throughout the marathon treason trial. So, few in Johannesburg were surprised by the Bar Council's choice.

Fischer was an active member of the Communist Party of South Africa from 1937 until it was dissolved in 1950. He was one of a capable group of middle-class professional men—lawyers, doctors, architects, lecturers, and others—who led the party with much more skill, patriotism, and detachment from Moscow than other English-speaking Communist parties showed.

By a strange irony, the dissolution of the party was the prelude to a growth of radical thought. Although the party had been small and sectarian, it had exercised a certain influence, mainly through its weekly paper *New Age* (formerly *The Guardian*), which was published without interruption until the law suspended it during the five-months' national emergency last year. It currently appears every week, and it is still widely read by Africans and Indians. Some of the former party members, like Fischer, were, however, forced to retire from active politics because they were personally prohibited by law from attending meetings of any kind, even private committee meetings. Other white members, however, were free to join, or indirectly to try to influence, other organizations such as the small left-wing Congress of Democrats which was born during the campaign of passive resistance in 1952 and which is still alive.

Even in its heyday, the Commu-

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nist Party never attracted many African members. When Africans did learn, in the 1950's, to take an alert interest in politics, they turned to the old-established African National Congress and, after 1958, to a rival body, the new Pan-Africanist Congress. Both these bodies were outlawed last year. Today there is no effective African organization to resist the government or even to express African opinion on the events of the day. Ideas are alive, but there is no means of translating them into political action. This helps to explain why there is no revolution around the corner in South Africa.

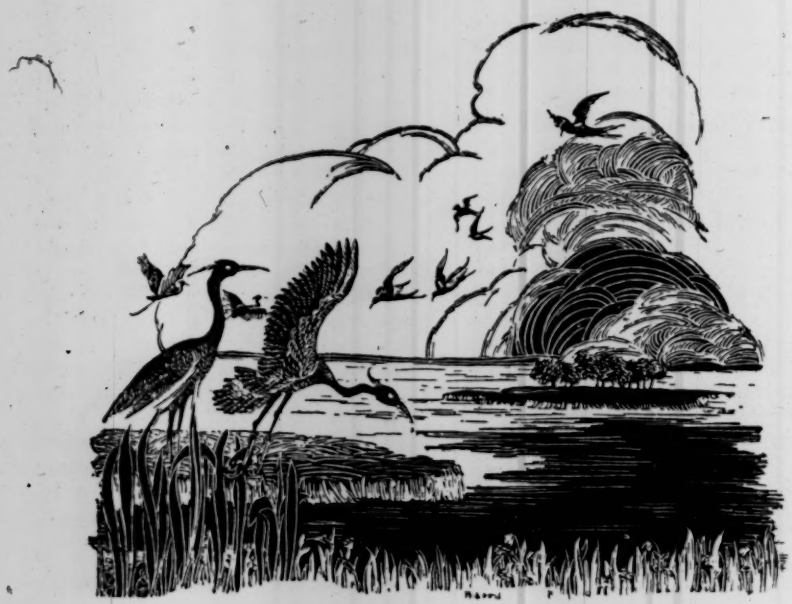
It was an American radical, Walter Weyl, who pointed out long ago that "a class, to be effective either for revolt or reform, has to be economically above the poverty line, intellectually above the literacy line, and politically above the suffrage line." Applying this test to South Africa, an observer must report, first, that politically the Africans have not attained the suffrage nor is there the slightest prospect that they will in the foreseeable future. Their best friends among the white people—those in the small Liberal and Progressive parties—have been arguing with one another for years the question of how and by what stages to reach the ultimate goal of universal adult suffrage. They know that even a cautious plan to extend the franchise to allow Africans to become, say, even five per cent of the total electorate is enough to wreck the chances of any white Liberal or Progressive candidate seeking election to parliament. Neither party has yet won a single seat in any elected council, not even municipal or provincial.

Intellectually, from five to ten per cent of adult Africans could perhaps be described as above the literacy line in any modest political sense. In any case, Africans as a whole are not much given to reading—they prefer talking—and when *New Age* is finally suppressed after the new, more drastic Censorship Bill is passed during this current (1961) session of parliament, there will be little in the way of radical literature for them to read.

Economically, the Africans on the white farms and those in the tribal reservations—together numbering two-thirds of the total population—are wretchedly poor. Moreover, they are getting poorer with every passing year because their desperately small incomes are diminishing in relation to rising prices in the shops and the declining fertility of their overcrowded lands. It is this deepening poverty that lies behind the repeated recent demonstrations of rural discontent in Pondoland, Sekukuniland, Zeerust, and Zululand—peasant revolts which are soon put down by a government with plenty of practice in the ruthless application of military force. In the last three years some peasant leaders have been banished to isolated places and others have been imprisoned; whole areas have been sealed off by the police to prevent any contact with urban "agitators" of any race or creed.

It is, of course, in the cities that one would most expect to see the signs of resistance to policies that deprive the people of all hope. Here again, however, the secret political police (known as "the special branch") regard eternal vigilance as the price to be paid for the suppression of all civil liberty. No country in the world has such a network of restrictive laws, as evidenced by the recent publication of a book containing merely the text of these urban laws which runs to a thousand pages embodying a million words. Among the innumerable laws are some designed to prevent *any* unofficial contact between black people and white. The authorities, realizing that ideas are dangerous things, do all they can to make it impossible for white liberals of any shade of opinion to meet middle-class Africans capable of acquiring a degree of political sophistication. Interracial activity of any type, never strong at the best of times, has today ebbed lower than ever before.

Yet it is hard to kill ideas by law. In a sense the attempt has come too late. There are already too many educated Africans and Indians who know, however vaguely in many instances, what is going on at the United Nations and in the rest of Africa. In one way or another these men keep on demanding human rights and the redress of human wrongs; and they are heartened by outspoken support from white liberals at home and echoes of their demands from abroad. Accordingly, a ferment of controversy does continue in the press, even if it is kept to rather abstract terms. By restricting civil rights severely, the government has created a legal wilderness, but no one can call it racial peace.



Yet the persistence of controversy does not by any means add up to a prospect of fundamental change, such as foreign visitors are inclined to believe "inevitable." No textbook of political science describes how revolution or even radical reform can come to a country in South Africa's peculiar position. True, there is a sort of African middle class—consisting mainly of teachers, preachers, and clerks—ready to lead peasants and factory workers out of the wilderness and towards the promised land of good hope. In its ranks, however, there are all too few with the kind of competence required to organize a political movement in the face of formidable obstacles.

When this is pointed out, Africans who resent any criticism will in reply indignantly enumerate the harsh laws which reduce political activity, when it is permitted at all, to a formality. It is, however, necessary to recall that even in the "good old days," long before the present repressive government came to power thirteen years ago, Africans showed themselves weak in political organization. They have, for instance, never published a weekly, or even a monthly, newspaper. In the forty-eight years of its existence, from 1912 until 1960, the African National Congress never seriously attempted to produce a journal of its own; and now many of its adherents would say that *New Age* serves their purpose well enough.

This weakness is in part caused by the absence in South Africa to this day of the buoyant feeling that has driven Africans everywhere in British and French territories to act—and to suffer—in the belief that the future is theirs for the taking. Partly, too, the absence of such a confident belief is a matter of sheer numbers. Of the fifteen million people in South Africa, Africans constitute only two-thirds, a proportion considerably smaller than in any other African country. They have long felt the heavy weight of white settlement and white culture imposed on them, and, indeed, accepted by them for nearly a hundred years. And the presence of 500,000 Indians and 1,500,000 "colored" people—those of mixed descent—is a further complication.

The only country in the continent which presents a true comparison is Algeria, where the Algerians form about ninety per cent of the whole population. Moreover, it must be remembered that in their struggle for self-government the Algerians have received arms and other forms of aid from neighboring states which speak the same language and which have already gained their own freedom from foreign rule.

Burck in The Chicago Sun

Dropping the Pirate

By contrast, the Union of South Africa is virtually an island. It is hemmed on three sides by the seas, and its neighbors on its northern border are the Portuguese colonies and Southern Rhodesia, areas which are more backward and less mature than the Union itself, and as closely controlled by rulers determined to defend white supremacy. Entry into and exit from the Union is fairly effectively closed. When Africans do escape to freedom abroad, they never return because they have committed a crime in leaving the country without a passport.

Furthermore, South Africa has chosen to isolate itself politically as well as geographically. Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd's recent decision to withdraw from the British Commonwealth of Nations rather than temper his government's severe racial policies was met with dismay by many South Africans, but the decision was never for a moment susceptible to serious challenge. Mounting opposition to the Afrikaners' vicious racial policy within the United Nations is not likely to elicit a response from South Africa other than a further withdrawal to a still more isolated and lonely position.

At this point in any assessment of the situation, those who predict the overthrow of the government raise the question of international pressure. It is, of course, evident that every year international pressure on South Africa is becoming heavier, but what actual effect can it have on the balance of forces inside the country? The answer is "not much," measured in terms of possible deep changes in racial policy. The fact to be recognized is that the new republic, to be inaugurated on May 31, 1961, is the oldest and strongest state in Africa. Certainly it has a better balanced and more intelligently conducted economy than has any other area in the continent. Originally a poor agricultural community, South Africa began to develop seventy-five years ago when its rich resources of diamonds and gold were first opened up. Gold mining is the big key industry which British capital has long organized on efficient and highly profitable lines. The influence of the mine owners reaches far beyond mining. For one thing, it extends into the editorial offices of every English-language daily newspaper and, as a result, no murmur of criticism of this enormous industry ever appears in print.

Yet grounds for criticism are not wanting. From its inception gold mining has depended on the recruitment of an army of unskilled African laborers, numbering nearly 400,000. Brought to the mines under contracts carrying penal sanctions for deserters, these migrant laborers are housed and fed in compounds during their period of work, which averages fourteen months, before they go back to their tribal homes for a rest. Their low wages, averaging sixty cents a day, do not keep pace with the cost of living or even with minimum family needs.

The main reason is simple: African miners are forbidden to organize labor unions—unlike their immediate

bosses, the white miners, one-tenth of their number, who have won high wages through their powerful union. So old and deeply entrenched is this anti-union tradition that it is challenged by hardly anyone. It was merely illuminated for an hour when the Progressive Party was formed in 1959—a party which owes much of its inspiration as well as its financing to Harry Oppenheimer, the politically influential chairman of the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, the mining and investment giant. When the Progressives debated their program at their inaugural congress, they were careful to exclude unskilled Africans from those entitled to form free labor unions. At their second conference late in 1960, they approved a long list of basic human rights, but the right to form labor unions was missing from the list.

In their rather silent and faceless, but wide-awake, fashion, the mine owners can indeed be regarded as partners of the ruling Afrikaner Nationalists. This will sound surprising only to distant observers who cannot see below the surface of political appearances which put the mine owners firmly in the British conservative tradition and the Afrikaners just as firmly outside it. But the two factions share a common interest in pressing on successive governments one vital demand—the maintenance of the supply of cheap black labor. Standing squarely behind the Nationalist Party, the rich white land owners complain, like the mine owners, of a chronic shortage of labor. Like the mine owners, who recruit 90,000 laborers annually in the Portuguese colony of Mozambique, the farmers have secured government sanction for the use of labor from neighboring British territories to eke out the labor supply from the tribal areas.

The internal supply has fallen because the great growth of modern industry competes with the old feudal system of farming and mining. Industry today contributes to the national income more than the other two activities combined. In these circumstances you would expect to find at least one political party boldly sponsoring the claims and promoting the interests of businessmen who have

both feet in the Twentieth Century. But this development has never occurred. To account for its absence, one would again have to trace the pervasive influence of the mine owners. It is their financial houses which have provided a substantial part of the capital available for other enterprises. You cannot easily find an industrialist or a big commercial entrepreneur in any South African city who would be ready to snap his fingers at the well-organized pressure group known as "the Chamber of Mines."

So although the mine owners do not openly support the Nationalists, they will never oppose the present or any other government as long as it does not interfere with mining. After the great "emergency" last year, it was significant that the president of the Chamber of Mines was able to assure assembled shareholders that the actual operations of the mines—as distinct from the falling value of shares on the stock exchange—had not been disturbed for a day by the great upheaval.

The whole English-speaking community of one million people accepts the values and opinions approved by the mining industry. To do so pays handsomely. The domestic accumulation of capital has risen by leaps and bounds in the last twenty years, during which South Africa's rate of economic growth has been among the highest in the world. All the white people, including the Afrikaner semi-skilled workmen, have shared in this prosperity and so, to a lesser extent, have urban (but not rural) Africans. Nor have the boycotts organized in Britain yet made any perceptible impact on this prosperity, except possibly on limited interests such as fruit exports.

What did affect the economic situation was the world's reaction to the shooting at Sharpeville in March, 1960, the affair which triggered off the emergency. Capital from overseas, which had already been slowing down, not only ceased to flow into the country but began to retreat in dismay. The nation's foreign reserve funds sank by fifty per cent to a dangerously low level. Whether the control measures adopted will restore the position, no one can yet tell. But national finances are directed by able and shrewd minds not under any illusions; to think in terms of an imminent collapse of the economy is foolish. It has an inherent strength which has hitherto enabled it to ride out all storms.

Foreigners find it hard to realize that the more South Africa changes, the more it remains the same. Citizens with long memories know that the problems under public discussion today are in essence much the same as they have been for the last thirty years. The world beyond the Limpopo river, the Union's northern frontier, has changed and moved forward, but the Union and its peoples have, through a combination of unique and complex circumstances, moved backwards, away from the rights of man and the equality of races. Interracial tensions are painfully obvious, but tensions alone do not transform a country or produce social change. Picture four firemen holding a blanket taut; each pulls in a different direction, but whatever happens, the blanket does not collapse. Similarly, South Africa is sustained by an uneasy balance of forces. Today the government has everything under control—except the aims and aspirations of its ten million black people held in abject bondage.

CIVIL DEFENSE: BILLION DOLLAR BOONDOGGLE
by SENATOR STEPHEN YOUNG

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CRISIS in the Hospitals

by SELIG GREENBERG

This is the second of two articles on hospital costs by Selig Greenberg, writer on medical problems for the Providence, Rhode Island, Journal and Evening Bulletin. *Mr. Greenberg has twice been honored by the Lasker Foundation for his distinguished writing on medicine. He won the Associated Press Managing Editors Association Award for his series of articles on the problems of the aged.*
—THE EDITORS

ANY SEARCHING appraisal of the problem of high hospital costs, which in the past decade have soared at more than four times the rate of the general cost of living, must take into consideration three salient factors.

First and foremost in the picture is the key role played by the medical profession in the functioning of hospitals and in the pyramiding of their costs. Closely related to this is the traditional autonomy, sometimes verging on anarchy, of the voluntary hospitals. Having grown at random rather than by design, these hospitals operate without any effective public controls and continue to expand in a hit-or-miss fashion that frequently makes for wasteful duplication of facilities and services. Further aggravating the situation is the prevailing pattern of health insurance with its built-in incentives toward over-use of hospitalization because of inadequate coverage of diagnostic and treatment procedures on a much more economical outpatient basis.

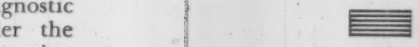
The combination of these three factors now all too often results in costs which are higher than they should be. There is no getting away from the fact that the kind of medical care made possible by the spectacular progress of medicine is inherently expensive. So it is all the more vital that vested interests should not be allowed to stand in the way of providing good care at the lowest practicable cost.

Organized medicine's party line has long been that the doctors themselves are in no way responsible for mounting hospital charges and that the steady upward spiral is due primarily to the growing intricacy of medical care and to the "hotel" aspect of hospitals, especially their rising labor costs. This is vigorously disputed in two recent study reports in New Jersey and New York. Both studies support the conclusion that the alarming inflation of hospital and medical costs is in significant measure the result of such uncontrolled practices by the doctors as diagnostic admissions to hospitals under the guise of therapy, the countenancing of unnecessarily protracted hospital stays, the indulgence of patients' demands for needless and expensive drugs and sometimes even the performance of unnecessary surgery.

A New Jersey state commission named to investigate the justification for the latest rate increase sought by Blue Cross has reported that an exhaustive analysis "leads one to the inescapable conclusion that medical influences, as they are exerted by doctors individually, in staff and through their professional bodies, are five times as great a factor in the increase in hospital costs as all the other influences the hospitals have to encounter in their services. If a way is to be found to check the rise in hospital costs, the most fruitful line of inquiry would appear to be in the field of medical costs. This seems to be an endeavor which is not within the power of the hospitals but rather must be left to the medical profession."

In New York, where there has been much griping about a succession of Blue Cross premium boosts, the report of a two-year study by the Columbia University School of Public Health and Administrative Medicine has recommended coordinated hospital planning and far-reaching changes in the health insurance contract structure as essential steps for meeting the challenge of skyrocketing costs.

Among the measures advocated by the Columbia study group to combat unnecessary and overly long hospitalization are insurance coverage of ambulatory diagnostic services and nursing home care, the development of effective mechanisms for reviewing hospital admissions and checking on length of stay, and the expansion of hospital outpatient facilities in order to reduce the use of costly services designed for the acutely ill. The Columbia report, moreover, recognizes that the implementation of these and other economy moves depends on basic organizational reforms in the health insurance and hospital fields. It therefore proposes greater representation of consumer interests on Blue Cross governing boards and development of a state master plan for hospital expansion.



Under domination by hospital trustees and the medical profession, Blue Cross has become little more than a collection agency for the hospitals. It is doubtful whether it can be made to move vigorously toward greater cost consciousness and coverage of a broader range of services without a strong infusion of the consumer point of view. The same holds true of the hospitals, which are not only inhibited by the archaic piecework approach of the present organization of medical practice but often operate without regard to overall community needs and duplicate expensive facilities and services in a race for prestige or because of competitive pressures by their medical staffs.

A step in the right direction urged in the Columbia report is the establishment of a central state agency,

with a subsidiary chain of regional planning councils, to review and license all new hospital construction in order to assure a more orderly and efficient pattern of expansion.

The public builds the voluntary hospitals and supports them—by paying hospital bills and Blue Cross premiums, through taxes and through philanthropy. But it is the doctors who, in large measure, call the tune on how the hospitals are run and what their costs are.

Major components of the hospital cost picture are the frequency of hospitalization, the average length of stay, and the quantity used of so-called ancillary services—such as various diagnostic tests, drugs, and medical and surgical supplies. Doctors control all of these cost factors, which determine the level of Blue Cross premiums. It is the attending physician and no one else who decides if the patient should be sent to the hospital in the first place. It is he alone who determines how long the patient should stay. It is he who decides what the patient should get by way of nursing care, medication, laboratory work, diet, and other services. Physicians play the dominant role in determining the character of hospital facilities needed.

A crucial point to bear in mind is that the people who have the biggest say about hospital matters are for the most part not hospital employes at all. They are private businessmen who use publicly provided facilities for their own business. Medicine is probably the only profession whose practitioners are furnished with workshops at public expense. With the steadily growing complexity of medical science, no physician is now able to provide all of the elaborate and expensive diagnostic and treatment tools he needs for his patients. So the community has pooled its resources in hospitals to furnish the required equipment for the physicians. It is estimated that the average member of a hospital medical staff is being provided, free of charge, with a capital investment of about $70,000. He has the free use of an organization whose maintenance, on the average, costs about $7,500 per bed a year.

Legally, doctors are subject to the authority of the hospital's lay board of trustees. But in actual practice the board's control over them is often highly tenuous. The trustees appoint members of the medical staff after review of their professional qualifications and also name the chiefs of the various services. Within the broad policies laid down by the board, the physicians have their own mechanisms for self-government and self-discipline. The organized medical staff usually performs many functions which make for better medical service. In the better hospitals, the organized staff has contributed materially to raising the level of medical practice by enforcing higher standards. But in many hospitals, particularly the smaller ones, staff controls are weak.

The full impact of the doctor's dominant position in the hospital becomes clearer when it is viewed within the context of the setting in which he operates. Not only are institutional controls over the physician's hospital practice inadequate but the prevailing form of health insurance is wide open to abuse. The temptation to put the profit motive above efficiency is thus often irresistible in view of the doctor's status as a private entrepreneur in competition with his colleagues.

With the revolution in the science and economics of medicine and the mounting concentration of medical services within the hospital, there is an urgent need for a thorough re-examination of physician-hospital relationships. Expert opinion is that the team work of group practice within hospitals would greatly increase efficiency and cut overhead costs. There are equal economy possibilities in wider use of hospital outpatient facilities. But the medical profession resists both of these developments as an infringement upon its cherished prerogative to charge what the traffic will bear.

From the standpoint of economy, it would be logical to have a cooperative arrangement among hospitals in the same community for a sharing of functions, so that each institution would specialize in doing the things it can do most effectively and efficiently. The trouble, however, is that no leverage now exists to force decisions in the public interest rather than the interest of the individual hospital and its staff. Substantial savings could be achieved if the handling of complex cases requiring highly specialized skills and elaborate equipment were confined to one or two hospitals, instead of letting every hospital do almost everything. This is particularly true of such intricate procedures as eye, brain, or cardiac surgery. But logic runs into two big roadblocks—the separative interests of hospitals and restrictive hospital staff policies.

Hospital managements are sometimes more interested in the perpetuation and growth of their own institutions than in a balanced health care program. They often suffer from an "edifice complex," pushing for more and bigger buildings and for every new piece of equipment invented, or they are pushed in that direction by their medical staffs.

An even more serious obstacle to a better organization of hospital services is the prevailing staff system. Many doctors have an appointment on the staff of only one or, at the most, two hospitals, and some physicians have no hospital privileges at all. If a doctor were to send a patient to a hospital where he is not on the staff, he would have to turn him over for treatment to another physician who is on the staff there. And in doing so, he would stand a good chance of losing the patient altogether. The result is that the doctor is eager to send his patients to the place where he is on the staff, regardless of whether or not there is sufficient demand at that hospital for the kind of procedures involved to enable efficient use of the necessary equipment and personnel.

The ideal solution would be some system of reciprocal staff privileges to allow doctors to treat their patients in any hospital. But this is easier said than done. There are barriers of professional competition and the strong feeling that anything smacking of an "open staff," under which all doctors are granted hospital privileges, would have a disastrous effect on the quality of care.

Theoretically, hospital staff appointments are made purely on the basis of professional qualifications. In practice, however, pecuniary motivations, professional jealousies, and personal prejudices frequently figure in

the picture. Staff appointments are sometimes controlled by cliques of established specialists determined to preserve their monopoly and to keep out potential competitors. At other times physicians have been kept off hospital staffs not because of any doubt regarding their professional competence but because they were affiliated with group practice insurance programs or because they were otherwise unorthodox in their views on medical economics. Lack of medical society membership is in itself an automatic bar to hospital privileges.

For a variety of reasons, a considerable number of doctors, mostly general practitioners, are excluded from hospital staffs and thereby relegated to a sort of second-class practice. Since it is extremely difficult these days for a physician to practice up-to-date medicine without the team approach and professional stimulation provided by a hospital affiliation, the question inevitably arises as to why doctors who are not good enough for staff appointments should be allowed to practice at all.

"To keep medical costs within reason," Dr. Basil MacLean, former president of the Blue Cross Association, has said, "we must keep the patient vertical whenever possible. Once we put him between sheets, the bill begins to get out of hand."

Unfortunately, this is precisely what not uncommonly happens under the health insurance programs now generally in effect. Because they are reimbursed only for bed care and not for less expensive ambulatory services, Blue Cross subscribers sometimes resort to needless hospitalization in order to qualify for insurance benefits. Such abuse requires collusion by physicians, since no patient can be admitted to a hospital without a doctor's approval. There is reason to believe that doctors sometimes yield to the whim of patients who want a rest in a hospital at the expense of Blue Cross or hospitalize people because they feel they will be more certain to collect their own bills if insurance covers part of the costs.

"What often runs up cost," one authority has said, "are hospital admissions for procedures that can be just as effectively and much more economically done on an outpatient basis, stays which could be shortened if the preliminary work-up were done

Herblock in The Washington Post

"Open Wide and Say 'Bah'"

before and not after the patient is put to bed, excessive use of laboratory tests and X-ray examinations, and lack of sufficient controls to make sure that costly drugs are discontinued promptly when the need for them is over. Some doctors hospitalize patients for minor surgery or medical care that could be easily rendered in the office. When it comes to laboratory and X-ray studies paid for wholly or in part by insurance, some practicing physicians and many interns and residents shoot the works in the hope that one or two of the tests will make the diagnosis."

While there is considerable disagreement about the extent of improper use of hospitalization, several studies have come up with the conclusion that about twenty per cent of hospital patients need not be there at all and could be cared for adequately in outpatient clinics or in nursing and convalescent homes. A large-scale survey made some time ago by the Michigan state medical society showed that nearly one out of every five days spent in hospitals by Blue Cross subscribers was "unnecessary to the recovery, safety, or reasonable comfort of the patient." A study of patients staying thirty days or longer in four Boston hospitals disclosed that forty-two per cent of these patients, most of them elderly people, did not require continuing active treatment.

Significant is the experience of the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York (HIP), one of the nation's largest group practice prepayment programs. HIP covers its members for virtually the whole gamut of medical services, except hospitalization, for which they must take out Blue Cross insurance. A highly interesting feature of this arrangement is that HIP subscribers go to the hospital about one-fifth less often than other Blue Cross members in New York. The reasons for this are fairly clear. HIP patients receive preventive services which sometimes curb incipient disease before it becomes serious. They have the diagnostic work done without extra charge in the plan's own medical centers before they are admitted to hospitals. They are insured for unlimited nursing service in the home and therefore are able to go home earlier. And since HIP doctors are paid a fixed annual fee for each subscriber, there is no possible incentive for unnecessary surgery.

Even more striking is a comparison of the hospitalization experiences of California members of the United Steelworkers of America who are covered by Blue Cross and of members of the same union who are insured by the Kaiser Foundation comprehensive health plan in that state. The union recently reported that its members in California had 1,032 days of hospital care a year for every 1,000 subscribers under Blue Cross as against only 570 per 1,000 under the Kaiser program. The reasons appear to be the same as those figuring in the lower HIP hospitalization rate.

A difference of even a decimal point in the frequency of hospital admissions and in average length of

GUILT BY SUBPOENA
by PATRICK MURPHY MALIN

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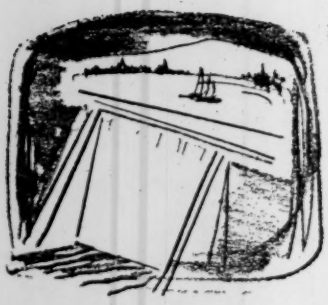
Reprint Department
The Progressive
Madison, Wisconsin

hospital stay can play hob with Blue Cross finances. In my own small state of Rhode Island, an increase of about one-fourth of a day in the average length of hospital stay boosted Blue Cross payments in 1959 by more than $450,000. The Philadelphia Blue Cross estimates that it would save $3,000,000 a year if the average stay of its hospitalized subscribers could be cut by half a day.

Yet to be fully explored is still another area of potential savings by tailoring hospital facilities to the degree of the patient's illness. Valuable lessons are sure to be learned from experiments along this line now underway in a number of hospitals throughout the country. Among the new approaches under study are special self-care units for convalescing patients or for those who are admitted chiefly for diagnostic tests and who can manage without many of the services needed by the acutely ill. Far too many elderly chronic patients who primarily need custodial rather than professional care are now occupying expensive general hospital beds. Much of this waste could be eliminated with the provision of adequate nursing home facilities.

People are increasingly asking questions about hospital charges and doctors' fees. As costs keep on climbing, they are no longer satisfied with the pat assurance that hospitals are non-profit institutions devoted to the public interest and that nothing can be done to reverse the upward cost trend. They want concrete evidence of concerted efforts to provide up-to-date services at the lowest possible price. They also are demanding more comprehensive insurance coverage for better protection against the financial hazards of illness.

Competent opinion is that the private practice of medicine and the present system of voluntary hospitals are doomed unless health insurance can be made a tool for keeping costs within reasonable bounds instead of the stimulant for inflation it now often is, unless wasteful hospital practices are corrected, and unless insurance can be provided at a price most people can afford. All of this is admittedly a pretty tall order. But the alternative, many authorities are convinced, is a complete government take-over. This has already happened in most civilized countries in the world. It can happen here, too.



The Battle for Conservation

by ANTHONY NETBOY

After eight long years of defeat and frustration, the battered forces of the nation's conservationists have been rejuvenated with excitement and new hope by the Kennedy Administration's vast programs to protect and develop the nation's resources. Less than a month after taking office, the President and his Secretary of the Interior, Stewart Udall, had already begun to reverse the Republicans' negative, corrosive policies which in two Presidential terms had brought conservation and resource development to a virtual standstill.

During the business- and profit-minded Eisenhower Administration the nation saw the Federal program of multi-purpose river development slowed down or halted in most parts of the country; reclamation of arid Western lands sharply tapered off by a policy of no new starts; crucial hydroelectric sites like Hells Canyon on the Snake River turned over to private development on a pigmy scale; wildlife refuges opened to widespread oil drilling; reforestation of our national forests reduced to a snail's pace; and the soil conservation movement stymied by the decentralizing of the Soil Conservation Service, which was turned over largely to the states. Conservation-minded citizens watched helplessly as speculators acquired valuable areas of the public domain in the West and sold them at fabulous profits.

Now, hopefully, this trend will be reversed if the new Administration follows up its encouraging opening moves. President Kennedy's long-range resources proposals have presented to Congress a challenging program based on an obviously deep and appreciative understanding of the problems facing our rapidly expanding population, not only now but in generations to come. Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall's policy announcements indicate a return to the conservation philosophy of Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Truman. In a formal memorandum in February, Udall scrapped the "partnership" policy of hydroelectric development sponsored by the last Administration and initiated a Federal program of planning, constructing, and interconnecting generating plants to provide "an adequate supply of low-cost power for homes, farms, and industry sufficient to service a dynamic economy." He directed that immediate attention be given to interconnecting the areas served by the Department of Interior's power marketing agencies—a dream of conservationists from Gifford Pinchot to Leland Olds which envisions low-cost electricity ultimately flowing, in a gigantic ultra-high voltage grid from dams near the British Columbia border down to southern California.

Shortly after announcing the Administration's new power policy, which also promises vigorous support for the rapid development of low-cost nuclear power, Udall promised the National Reclamation Association "a stronger and more aggressive reclamation program" during the next

ANTHONY NETBOY is a free lance writer who has been a student of conservation affairs for many years.

four years. Simultaneously President Kennedy told the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association that the Administration is going "to make new starts now on reclamation projects," and "seek ways to assure an abundant supply of electric power at lowest possible cost for all rural people, and to help people use that power effectively to raise productivity and their standards of living."

Udall has also announced that no more applications for lands in the public domain will be accepted from private individuals until September 1, 1962. This moratorium, he said, will give the Bureau of Land Management an opportunity to study the 60,000 applications now on file and should stop the scandalous speculation in public lands.

Coming in rapid succession, these pronouncements have heartened conservationists who are deeply concerned about the state of our natural resources and who are aware of the complex problems generated by the rapid growth of our population. In 1900, about the time the conservation movement was launched, the United States had a population of 76 million people; in 1960 there were 179 million. According to the authoritative Population Reference Bureau, if present trends continue there will be 260 million people in the United States by 1980 and 350 million by the year 2000.

This population surge, combined with rapidly rising living standards, is placing a destructive strain on our natural resources which can be relieved only with bold and far-sighted conservation and development. We will need much more electricity, timber, clean water, crop and grazing land, parks and other outdoor recreation facilities. Since nature has endowed the United States with finite resources, we must use all we have in the most productive manner and at the same time take measures to restore those we are rapidly using up. Natural resources are the ultimate basis of our wealth and prosperity; our world position will be endangered if we do not attack conservation problems with vigor and a clear vision of our ultimate needs.

Perhaps the foremost urgency in our resources problems is the dwindling water supply. There is, in the aggregate, plenty of water in the United States. But in many areas demands for clean, fresh water are outstripping the supply, either because of soaring consumption, or because available water has been rendered unfit for use. Precious supplies have been impaired by careless disposal of human and industrial wastes that contaminate rivers and streams. Unwise land use has permitted eroded materials to fill storage reservoirs, while overuse of ground waters or poor drilling practices have allowed salt water to invade formerly fresh supplies.

The potential supply of water that falls on the land and is available in surface and subsurface storage remains constant, but our needs pyramid with growing population. Expanding industry and higher standards of living steadily boost the amount of water required to satisfy the American way of life. Thus, average daily use for all purposes jumped from 600 gallons per capita in 1900 to 1,300 gallons in 1955. By 1975 the country will be using 1,800 gallons of water a day for every man, woman, and child.

To obtain enough water for their inhabitants and industries, cities have to go farther and farther to tap sources of supply. Los Angeles and its surrounding communities, located in an area of very little rainfall, reach out all the way to the Colorado River, 450 miles away, Mono Lake, 350 miles, and the Owens River, 240 miles, for their water supplies. Since even these sources are inadequate, a plan has been launched—endorsed by the voters last autumn—to bring water from northern California by means of an intricate system of aqueducts, tunnels, and storage dams, across the mountains and through the valleys to southern California. The ultimate cost, borne by the state, will be $1,750,000,000.

Congested New York City's predicament is almost as great as Los Angeles'. It already has spent $1,250,000,000 to tap three watersheds.

Justus in The Minneapolis Star

"Here's That Frontier"

In most metropolitan sections of the United States there are currently no shortages, but water becomes more expensive because of the increased lift. Milwaukee, Wisconsin, for instance, has witnessed a decline of 400 feet in its well levels in eighty years because of overpumping. Higher capacity wells now have to go down about 1,500 feet, and the water supply ends at 2,100 feet.

Overpumping has also reduced ground water levels in Philadelphia, Chicago, Memphis, and even in newer Western cities like Cheyenne, Wyoming, and Tucson, Arizona. New Haven, Bridgeport, Long Island, Baltimore, Galveston, and Los Angeles have had to cope with sea water in their wells, while in Mississippi, Texas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana oil wells bring up salt water, and so do industrial wells in Ohio and Michigan.

Agricultural areas are also suffering from overpumping. Because of lack of water, about 50,000 acres of land have gone out of irrigation farming every year in Arizona since 1954. In 1948 farmers tapped water at 100 feet but now have to go down to 250 feet.

Solutions to water supply problems often are too expensive for local communities not as rich as New York City or Los Angeles. Arizona, growing faster than any of the states except California and Florida, must look to the Federal government to build big storage dams to supply its thirsty cities and irrigated farms. The new reclamation policy enunciated by Secretary Udall should not only put more land under irrigation but alleviate the

water shortages of many communities in the arid portions of the West.

While the problems of gaining access to usable water sources are staggering for many localities, pollution threatens to become a national menace. We can no longer take pure water for granted. The United States has been basically transformed from a land of fields and forests in the early Twentieth Century into a country of industrial and metropolitan centers. Municipalities and industrial plants are discharging organic, chemical, and mineral wastes into rivers and salt water bays at an alarming rate. At the same time, poor farming and grazing practices and improper logging are causing silt, the product of erosion, to flow into our streams.

The fight against pollution is never-ending. For example, Wisconsin has had a good pollution law since 1927, and is doing more than most states to cope with the problem. In 1930, treatment removed 530,000 pounds of polluting material from Wisconsin waters; in 1954, 1,410,000 pounds. But in the same period the potential pollution load jumped from 1,540,000 to 2,350,000 pounds. A quarter century of aggressive action has resulted in only a slight reduction of the total volume of muck and silt carried by Wisconsin streams.

We have made considerable headway in reducing pollution from industrial plants, especially by pulp and paper companies (some of the worst offenders), but new chemicals that come into use and are discharged into the streams create new problems. Detergents, for instance, are an almost insuperable obstacle to pollution control. Some 2.5 billion pounds of insoluble detergents are sold annually for household use. They prevent the settling of organic matter in sewage treatment plants, foam up and overflow into streams, or are discharged directly, without treatment, and create difficulties for downstream water plants. The foam blows off sewage vats and sometimes scatters dangerous bacteria.

Raw sewage naturally grows in volume as population increases. Communities without adequate treatment plans pour it directly into the nearest stream. Many rivers around metropolitan areas are little more than running sewers, especially during periods of low flows. Some states have strong control laws, but others do not. Congress in 1948 passed the Water Pollution Control Act which provides for matching Federal grants to local communities to build sewage treatment plants, but the program is far too small, and the Eisenhower Administration's insistence that water pollution was strictly a local problem (even in rivers crossing several state boundaries) served to keep the program stunted. President Kennedy has urged Congress to support a bill to extend the program's scope by $125 million each year for 10 years.

The Public Health Service has estimated it will cost $9 to $12 billion to clean up the nation's rivers and billions more to keep them unpolluted. It has identified 6,868 municipal and 5,728 industrial waste disposal systems which should be built at once.

While taking care of our rivers and water supplies, we must not neglect the forests. The United States, in its pristine state, was half clothed with forests that were regarded by the pioneers as inexhaustible, but now we are in danger of becoming a have-not nation. Over three centuries of settlement have sadly reduced the timber supply. Yet the myth of inexhaustibility dies hard.

In its thorough review of the timber situation in 1955, the United States Forest Service foresaw no real decline in consumption of wood and wood products in the next forty years, despite the increasing popularity of substitutes like plastics and light metals. Per capita use, it estimated, will rise from sixty-five cubic feet in 1952 to seventy-six cubic feet and overall potential demand from twelve to twenty-two billion cubic feet by the year 2,000. The Forest Service has warned that "the nation has no excess of forest land. . . . On the contrary, further significant reductions in the acreage of land devoted to growing trees should in general be avoided or should be made with full realization that such withdrawals may adversely affect future timber supplies."

The record on reforestation of Federal lands that contain the bulk of our sawtimber reserve has been shockingly poor in recent years. A Senate subcommittee headed by Senator James E. Murray of Montana revealed last spring that the Forest Service, under mandate from the penny-pinching Budget Bureau, has fallen far behind, not only in reforesting its unstocked lands but in replanting areas devastated by fire. Thus, from 1950 to 1959 some 950,000 acres of commercial national forest areas were burned but only 230,000 acres were replanted.

The enormous productivity of American agriculture hides the fact that much of our farm land suffers from various degrees of debility. Dust still blows over large areas of wheat land in the Great Plains during dry cycles. Gullies and chasms still yawn in the badly eroded sections of the cotton South. High yields of corn-belt farms are due mainly to lavish use of fertilizers and hybrid varieties rather than to fertility of soils robbed of many of their nutrients. In short, the soil conservation job is enormous.

The Soil Conservation Service estimates that only one-third of our farm lands are adequately protected by soil conservation measures. The Bureau of Land Management says that half the public range lands—eighty-five million acres—face "critical" to "severe" erosion and another fifty million acres are "moderately eroding." The rundown condition of the public domain has long been an issue, but the Eisenhower Administration was rather apathetic. Secretary Udall has promised more soil and water conservation on public grazing lands, possibly financed out of increased grazing fees, which have long been scandalously low.

Along with the water, forest, and soil conservation problems that beset the nation is the crisis in outdoor recreation facilities. Use of outdoor playgrounds by the public increases in geometric—not arithmetic—ratio as population grows, the work week shortens, and paid vacations lengthen. Many of our national parks, like Yosemite and Yellowstone, with their fatal beauty, are taking a beating from overuse. Total visits to the national parks soared from thirty-three million in 1950 to about sixty million in 1959. Even "Mission 66," a ten-year program launched by the National Parks Service in 1956 to modernize and expand park facilities, is now regarded as totally inadequate.

At the same time, recreational use of the national forests, which more than doubled in the past decade, is threatening to overwhelm the Forest Service.

If we are to save many scenic and park-worthy areas around the country from the bulldozers of highway-builders and land developers, we must act quickly. Awaiting action by Congress are bills to put some ten unspoiled coastal landscapes into the national park system, notably the Lake Michigan Dunes, Cape Cod, Point Reyes in California, and the Oregon Dunes. Udall has expressed enthusiasm about such seashore parks and is expected to endorse some of the seashore bills. "There's a definite limit on what can be had and prices are going up," he said. "We either acquire it in the next five years or we aren't going to do it. The President is pushing the Cape Cod park. He's for the whole idea of expanding the park system. It will cost money but we're going to see what we can do about it."

Allied to the need for more national parks is expansion of the system of wildlife refuges. We have far from enough to accommodate the millions of wild ducks and geese and other migratory waterfowl that swoop down from the north every autumn and from the south every spring to find nesting and resting sites on lakes, ponds, rivers, and bays. Udall's department is working on a plan for Federal acquisition of wetlands to be converted into wildlife refuges and also to make available loan funds to the states for this purpose.

At long last, there is hope, too, for a dedicated wilderness system, advocated by the late Senator Richard L. Neuberger and others. The 14,500,000 acres in wilderness, nearly all under Forest Service control, are now at the mercy of adminstrative fiat. Yielding to pressure by the lumber and pulp and paper interests hungry for timber, the Forest Service in recent years has opened up sizable primitive areas to the loggers, notably in the high Cascades of Oregon and Washington. Chain-saw men are—or soon will be—cutting down trees in formerly untrodden wilderness, scarring the green slopes with roads, bulldozers and high lead cables, destroying the natural symphony of mountains, glaciers, and running streams. Advocates of the wilderness bill, debated for years in Congressional committees and hearings around the country, are now hopeful of victory with a friendly Administration behind them. If passed, it would put the remaining gems of wilderness into an irrevocable system like the national parks. No roads, trails, or human use would be allowed. They would remain majestic and isolated, accessible only on foot or horseback.

The problems of conservation are numerous and complex. If we do not move rapidly to solve them, timber, water, food, and fiber will become more scarce and expensive, and unmarred landscapes rare.

Enlightened statesmanship by the Kennedy Administration, forecast by the President's proposals and Secretary Udall's concrete actions, can return the conservation movement to high gear. And none too early. A great nation which permits its natural resources to be frittered away can only decline in strength and dwindle in stature among the world's powers.

Coming next month!

LATIN AMERICA: Dynamite on Our Doorstep

by Morris H. Rubin

Editor of The Progressive

Another of The Progressive's famous series of Special Issues, the June number will carry a 40,000-word report by Editor Rubin on his extensive first-hand survey of Cuba and the Latin American countries of the Caribbean, Central, and South America.

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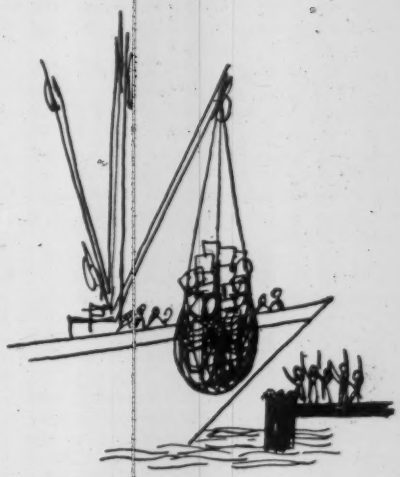

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The Progressive Madison, Wisconsin

THE PEOPLE'S FORUM

Thunder on the Left

Dear Sirs:

I applaud much that the Kennedy Administration is attempting to achieve, but I am gravely concerned that American liberals have relaxed too completely under the euphoric slogan, "Let Jack do it." This retreat from the position of vigilance we maintained under the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration may prove costly and destructive in the long run.

It is with this in mind that I want to congratulate *The Progressive* for publishing William V. Shannon's "The Neglected Frontier" in the April issue. Mr. Shannon has done us all a great service in emphasizing how little, if anything, the President and his brother, the Attorney General, have done or plan to do in the vital field of civil liberties, especially in moving toward dismantling the oppressive "security" program.

We need more of this critical type of vigilance represented by *The Progressive* and Mr. Shannon. We need more thunder on the left—the democratic left, that is—to fortify Mr. Kennedy's liberalism so he will feel impelled to press on to "The New Frontier," whose shores we have seen only dimly up to now. There is no such classification as a contented liberal.

JOHN K. OSBORN
Chevy Chase, Maryland

Goldwater's Ignorance

Dear Sirs:

In the April issue of *The Progressive*, Karl Meyer displayed great tolerance of Senator Barry Goldwater, while describing at the same time Goldwater's ignorance as a Senator: "[His] intellectual limitations are painfully evident; what does not come through as clearly is the stoutness and general decency of his character."

Stoutness and decency of character are admirable qualities, but the critical questions that are the responsibility of our United States Senate require knowledge and understanding of history and of current domestic and world problems, a deep appreciation of our American traditions, and a commitment to reason.

I do not agree that Goldwater's views are "most explicit and clearly formulated . . ." Instead, in the debate with Senator Eugene McCarthy, Goldwater displayed the knack of either dropping a point when cornered and jumping to another, or becoming "deaf" to his opponent's remarks and repeating the same moth-eaten economic cliches over and over again.

Once upon a time there were three terms which had some meaning: *liberal, conservative,* and *reactionary*. A few years ago, some sophisticated reactionaries adopted the term "conservative." It was bad enough when they sold this interpretation to the reactionary magazines and newspapers, but it is even more unfortunate that this interpretation is agreed to by liberals.

Now, to confuse understanding further, a reactionary, whose "beliefs date back only to the Nineteenth Century, who ran for Senator in Arizona against Walter Reuther, is termed a "radical of the Right."

Let's stop kidding ourselves. We can not afford to accept that the United States Senate should be a social club where "personal courtesy," "a sense of humor," and charm are the chief qualifications for membership and status and influence.

AARON ARONIN
Chicago, Illinois

Goldwater on Birch

Dear Sirs:

It is too bad Karl E. Meyer's April article describing Barry Goldwater as a nice guy came out before the Senator expressed his opinion of the Birch Society:

"A lot of people in my home town have been attracted to the society, and I am impressed by the type of people in it. They are the kind we need in politics." (*Time*, April 7)

L. C. HAAS
San Francisco, California

Goldwater's 'Weaseling'

Dear Sirs:

In retaliation for my giving him a subscription to *The Progressive*, a conservative friend gave me a subscription to Buckley's *National Review*. The first issue I received contained an article by Senator Barry Goldwater on foreign policy, which makes very interesting reading by comparison with the rather flattering article on Goldwater by Karl E. Meyer in your April issue.

Goldwater's two main points are the desirability of ignoring world opinion and the necessity of subordinating peace, freedom, and prosperity (so specifically named by him) to the necessity of achieving a military conquest of "world Communism."

When, after reading this, I read Karl E. Meyer's characterization of Goldwater as a "decent, upright, and thoroughly attractive politician," I felt that there is too often such a thing as leaning over backward to be fair to an opponent. If Goldwater's weaseling about the John Birch Society is "upright," and if his going even beyond the John Birch Society in some respects is "thoroughly attractive," and if Karl Meyer and *The Progressive* would (as intimated) rather see Goldwater in control of the Republican Party than Nixon or Rockefeller, then for similar reasons *The National Review* is to be admired by comparison with *The Progressive*.

WEBSTER PETERSON
St. Paul, Minnesota

Mysterious Mayer

Dear Sirs:

Milton Mayer's views remain something of a mystery to me after reading his "dialogue" in the April issue of *The Progressive*. It seems that Eichmann represents Mr. Mayer *and* himself in "Eichmann in Israel." Surely Mr. Mayer could have chosen a more suitable and believable spokesman to express his views.

Perhaps it was a desire to make Eichmann a literary symbol of Everyman that had Mr. Mayer put such unbelievable speeches in the mouth of Eichmann. But isn't it too much to expect of Everyman to be a Nazi and a liberal at the same time?

An example of the confusion that the reader feels is Eichmann's retaliatory statement ". . . when our enemies gave us the green light by bombing and burning our cities in 1942. Before that, you know there were lynchings, . . ." Is Mr. Mayer trying to say that the bombing of German cities was interpreted by the Germans as a punitive measure to their action against Jews and that *this* triggered wholesale exterminations? Or is this the fallacious opinion of Mr. Mayer himself? Indeed, where is Mr. Mayer on this point? Perhaps essay form is best after all for expository writing, and bravest.

EDITH GANZ
San Francisco, California

Significant Gadfly

Dear Sirs:

If I were sentenced to be sent to the proverbial island and could take but one publication, it would be *The Progressive*. I can't remember when I've been so excited over anything as I have over the April issue.

The article by Milton Mayer is perfect. It is what I've been thinking, but scarcely had the nerve to mention out loud. "They must *forget* the Nazis. You Jews, above all. Otherwise you will go on hating, and hatred makes people resemble the thing they hate. You will become Nazis unless you forget the Nazis. Why don't you forget about me?"

If only people could realize the truth of this observation. Hatred begets hatred. War begets war. The vicious circle gets tighter and tighter.

Then I turned a few more pages and read the article by Irvin Ashkenazy. I live in the same suburban community as the Ashkenazys and have often been impressed and humbled by their inherent goodness. This article made me proud, if only momentarily, to be a member of the same human race.

Thank you for being our gadfly, and for pointing out that which is truly significant in America today.

MARYE MYERS
Los Angeles, California

Mayer's Nonsense

Dear Sirs:

You have sullied your widely respected magazine by printing Milton Mayer's piece, "Eichmann in Israel," in the April issue. It is hard to believe that a single article could contain so much vicious nonsense, so much nauseating distortion.

Elementary human respect for the memory of Eichmann's victims should have prevented you from printing such filth.

JOHN H. E. FRIED
Special Legal Consultant to the
United States War Crimes Tribunals
Nurnberg, 1947-1949
New York City

Mrs. Ticktin and Rockwell

Dear Sirs:

Esther Ticktin (The People's Forum, April) seems to miss the point. Our military leaders have not lost their freedom of speech merely because they may no longer publicly disagree with their civilian superiors. We—and the world—are entitled to know what established Administration policy is; it is difficult to see how that policy can be made effective if each general and admiral is free to support, attack, or ignore it as he chooses.

A military leader has not only the right but the duty to press his views vigorously when policy is being formulated. It is a fundamental military principle, however, that once a decision is made it must be supported loyally, not just by those who favored it but by those who opposed it initially too. If (in peacetime) a general finds himself so out of sympathy with a major policy of his Commander-in-Chief that his very patriotism compels him to denounce it publicly, he has no alternative but to resign. As a private citizen it is then his constitutional right to speak out as his conscience dictates. (Of course, this elementary kind of loyalty is no different from that required also of a civilian official.)

With all due respect, I think Mrs. Ticktin is letting her thoroughly justified indignation toward Mr. Rockwell muddy her logic. The Constitution states that "The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy . . ." A little later on, in the First Amendment, it also makes pretty clear that even an obnoxious bigot must be allowed to express his opinions. If there is any inconsistency in the "liberal" position concerning George Rockwell on the one hand, and, let's say, Admiral Burke on the other, I'm afraid the blame is on those poor bemused men who wrote our Constitution.

JAMES E. KLINE
Evanston, Illinois

Stop Germ Warfare

Dear Sirs:

Nothing proves more conclusively that preparation for mass killing is preparation for mass suicide than does our chemical, biological, and radiological program. Fixation upon military defense as a means of survival and promoting our way of life has so blunted our critical senses that we leap from one heinous absurdity to another.

One truly decisive step in the right direction can make all the following steps possible and easier. After just so many steps we shall find ourselves stepping right along into a rational world. Those brave souls who have been standing these many months at the entrance of Fort Detrick, protesting silently to this outrage, now offer us the opportunity of joining them in a petition to President Kennedy asking that preparation for germ warfare cease, and that the laboratories of Fort Detrick be transformed into a World Health Center for research in the prevention and control of diseases and epidemics.

I urge *Progressive* readers to order and distribute these petitions, not only for themselves but as a means of informing the uninformed public. Write to VIGIL, 324 West Patrick Street, Frederick, Maryland.

RUTH H. POOL
Seattle, Washington

New Life on Campus

Dear Sirs:

Congratulations to *The Progressive* and to Milton Mayer for his perceptive article, "The Found Generation."

In the past three years I have traveled to 250 American campuses, representing first the National Student Association, and now World University Service. From this experience I would heartily concur with Mayer's thesis of the "found generation." The "finding" process is still far from concluded, but if one looks closely it is possible to discern the American student's increased concern with the challenges facing his society. The interest has always existed in an academic sense, but it is today finding channels of expression. The growing controversy over the House Un-American Activities Committee is but one facet; the sit-ins are another; the phenomenal student response to the Peace Corps, another.

The youth and energy of the new Administration are doubtless responsible in part for much of the activity we are now witnessing on campuses from Berkeley to Cambridge. Our students are becoming aware of their social and political potential, as their counterparts have throughout the world. Of course the challenges we face are in many ways more abstract than those offered by a totalitarian regime or a miserably low standard of living. The challenges, though, do exist and issues such as segregation, disarmament, and civil liberties are stirring our students to action.

The mainstreams of both liberal and conservative thought are receiving vital new currents from the American campus and it *is* exciting to witness and be part of this development. I hope *The Progressive* continues to observe and report this significant trend.

IRVING J. STOLBERG
Regional Executive
World University Service
Chicago, Illinois

America Stirring

Dear Sirs:

America is stirring from its lethargy and is rising in indignation at the abuses heaped upon its constitution if the reactions of the populace of this small, conservative, midwestern town are an indication.

Operation Abolition was shown this month at a university to a completely hostile audience. During the debate and discussion period that followed, not one voice from the audience was raised in behalf of the film, while penetrating analytical questions tore the honesty and constitutionality of the House Un-American Activities Committee to shreds.

Members of the Committee on Non-Violent Action's transcontinental walk for peace arrived on schedule, and sparked the expression of an intense desire for disarmament and the lessening of world tensions. Full page articles in the local press gave adequate coverage, and stimulating ideas were discussed in the public meeting until the audience had to be reminded it was necessary to close because of the late hour.

This is not to encourage complacency, but only to assure all who have worked so hard that their efforts are being rewarded in the far corners of our country.

EDWARD B. DUEHR
Bloomington, Illinois

Blatant Inconsistencies

Dear Sirs:

The confusion of facts is still smoke-screening the issue in articles concerning the House Un-American Activities Committee film, *Operation Abolition*. According to Milton Mayer in the March issue of *The Progressive*: "'There was no act of physical aggression on the part of the students,' said Sheriff Matthew Carberry of the City and County of

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San Francisco on a TV interview two months later."

M. Stanton Evans, however, in the February 18, 1961, issue of the *National Review Bulletin* states: "Matthew Carberry, sheriff of San Francisco County, told me: 'The people stirring the students up, and bringing them to an emotional pitch, were well-known Communists in the San Francisco area.'"

In the same article Evans quotes Carberry in reference to the "no act of physical aggression" statement which was first reported by Paul Jacobs in *The Reporter* magazine. Carberry is reported by Evans to have said: "I did not make that statement. I do not know the author of the article, Paul Jacobs, have never spoken to him and have never been interviewed by him."

Why the blatant inconsistencies in the reporting, and whose side is Carberry on?

ROBERT L. HAMILTON
Golden, Colorado

Mayer Disappointing

Dear Sirs:

I confess I am sharply disappointed with Milton Mayer's article about *Operation Abolition*, as compared with many brilliant, well-constructed, delectably tangy, unpredictable turns in his other articles over the years. This one is rambling, full of mere name-calling or insinuation (smear-style), bitter, titillating those already on his side. It merely confirms the bias of any whom one might wish to persuade. I had planned to give copies to nearby high school superintendents, but I fear this would defeat his and my purposes. More step-by-step evidence of the dishonesty of the Un-American Activities Committee is needed.

T. D. ELIOT
Fontana, Wisconsin

Praise for Ashkenazy

Dear Sirs:

Although I never had the experience of having a visitor such as Irvin Ashkenazy, I am an ex-con, having served time in three Federal pens during World War II as a walkout from C.P.S. Ashkenazy's fine article, "The Prison Visitors," in the April issue should help greatly to show people that we all have needs and that "just visiting" helps tremendously to keep a guy's head up.

Last year, in an ACLU-supported case, *Abbott vs. the City of Los Angeles*, the Supreme Court of California decided that registration for ex-cons was not legal in the state of California—and so statements like that on Page 41, ("Do you know what I'll be the rest of my life? An ex-con. A character who's gotta register with the police wherever he goes.") will not have to be made.

JOHN H. ABBOTT
Los Angeles, California

Elixir

Dear Sirs:

The Progressive is a sort of an elixir to me, and I am grateful for your fine reporting on national and international developments.

JOHN G. C. SOHN
Indianapolis, Indiana

BOOKS

New Dimension

THE OTHER SIDE OF JORDAN, by Harry Ashmore. Norton. 155 pp. $3.50.

DISCRIMINATION—U.S.A., by Senator Jacob Javits. Harcourt, Brace. 310 pp. $4.95.

Reviewed by

Senator Philip A. Hart

IN THE HALF-CENTURY since World War I, race relations in the United States have been transformed from a regional to a national problem. No other fact on the American scene is surrounded with more importance or less understanding. Southerners resent the concern of anyone in the North with denials of voting rights in the South on the ground that Northerners do not understand the Southern "population" problem. Northerners delude themselves that racial and religious discrimination is confined to the "backward" South while at the same time aiding and abetting the growth of restrictive racial covenants in property deeds—a phenomenon practically unknown in the South. Such contradictions and confusions are many.

Two recently published books on race relations and intergroup problems are healthy antidotes to this thinking. Both *The Other Side of Jordan* by Harry Ashmore and *Discrimination—U.S.A.* by Senator Jacob Javits are especially pertinent to our understanding of the new national dimension of these problems.

Both Ashmore and Javits fully understand the nature and the impact of the changes that have occurred in the years spanned by their own lives. The present character of race and intergroup problems began to take shape with the mass migration of Negro families from the Old South to the industrial North and West shortly after the turn of the century. The late Dr. Charles Johnson formulated the origins of this movement in terms of what he called "push-pull" influences. Begun by the Northern industrial "pull" of war production around 1915, encouraged by the "push" of crop failures, pestilence, and the general inefficiency of Southern agriculture, continued by the "pull" again of Northern and Western World War II production, this migration reached its crescendo in the decade of the Forties. During those ten years alone, the Census Bureau reported the movement of nearly two and a half million Negroes from the South to the North and West. Today there are almost as many Negroes living in the ten largest Northern industrial states as there are in the eleven states of the dead Confederacy.

A concomitant of both this movement and the earlier influx of foreign born workers for the mills of our growing industry was the increasing urbanization of our population. In 1920, for example, half of our population lived in rural areas. Today, there are fewer than twenty million persons living on farms—less than a third of our population live in rural areas. We have become a nation of "big cities" with about sixty per cent of our population living in 168 standard metropolitan areas. Our city population today is greater than was our national total in 1930.

To round out the dimensions of our new national setting, perhaps a third major influence should be added—the Immigration Act of 1924.

Not only did this Act introduce the "national origins quota" concept, it practically dried up the sources of this country's external labor supply so essential to our national growth. Thus, not only have many historic ethnic groupings within our population not been replenished, but industrial and commercial growth has sought new sources of labor nearer at hand—from Puerto Rico and from Mexico, for example. Our Northeastern and Southwestern coasts have witnessed the entry of nearly three million Spanish-speaking newcomers since World War II. While many older ethnic groups may not have completely lost their identity, they have at least been joined, if not displaced, in the city's slums by more recent newcomers.

For better or for worse, therefore, this trilogy of influences affecting the distribution and characteristics of our population has combined to create a new national condition within which we must resolve problems arising from our racial, religious, and ethnic differences.

While united in their perspective on the contemporary setting, these books are as different from each other as the backgrounds of their authors. One is blessed with the style, insight, and humanity of a Southern journalist who turns his wisdom and his trained observer's eye on New York City. The other is an erudite, clear, and forceful analysis of racial and religious discrimination by a New York politician who happens also to be one of the Senate's most able lawyer-statesmen.

Readers will not find two more complementary books nor two books that have a greater concern for the truth or for social understanding. These are rare occurrences in both journalism and politics where too many of us seem willing to respond to the deceptive slogan, "You've got to give the people what they want." You will find no glossing over and no finger pointing in these books.

Both authors have included excellent chapters on problems related to discrimination in employment, housing, schools, law, and politics. They are worth comparing not so much for their differences as for their similarities of concept. Senator Javits, who acknowledges in his book the assistance rendered him by some of the country's leading authorities on inter-group relations, documents objectively the history, scope, current status, and the direction which each of these problems of discrimination is taking. Harry Ashmore set himself a more narrow limitation. He writes of his material: "It is, unabashedly, journalism. I make no claim to scientific method. I simply went and looked and listened in the places Negroes of all conditions live in our biggest city, and talked before and after these visitations with some of those, white and colored, in New York and elsewhere, who have had long experience with the urban problem." His estimation of the essence and configuration of these problems is a tribute not only to his skill as a journalist, but to his wisdom in sorting out what he has seen and heard.

Senator Javits' chapter on changes that have occurred in recent years in the District of Columbia is especially valuable, not only because so much distortion has surrounded these events but because the progress they represent is still little appreciated in the nation at large. His chapter on social discrimination is similarly valuable because we have seemingly not yet realized the need for action on this front, at least to the same degree that has developed on the issue of fair employment and housing opportunities. For this, along with the chapter on the international implications of domestic discrimination practices, Senator Javits is to be commended.

Harry Ashmore, taking advantage of his journalist's license, has included several chapters that make his book worth reading for them alone—"The Edge of Bitterness," "The New Islam," "The Changing Guard," and "The Uncertain Future." It is one thing for a James Baldwin to delve into the processes of mind and motive, to make evaluations of the leadership and the social values which make up the internal structure of what is called the Negro community. It is quite another for a Southern white man on a tour not too different from what used to be called "slumming" to try. I think readers will agree that Ashmore has succeeded in making his efforts a demonstration of integrity, not daring. Because he is more interested in understanding than in argument, his efforts make sense. That is not to say that I anticipate agreement with all of his observations. But they can stand the test of discussion because their perspective is not paternalistic nor condescending.

As one far less conversant with these problems than these two authors, I do share one thing with both of them—optimism. I am confident that the Sixties will be a decade of continuing progress, and these two books are steps in that direction.

THE REVIEWERS

PHILIP A. HART is a Democratic Senator from Michigan. MELVIN J. FRIEDMAN teaches modern literature at the University of Wisconsin. RALPH K. HUITT, professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin, has served on the Senatorial staffs of Lyndon Johnson and William Proxmire. NATHAN GLICK works in Washington, D.C., as an editor and writer; his reviews and articles have appeared in Commentary, The Progressive, and other publications. SUSAN BRADY is on the editorial staff of a national magazine.

Dedicated Camus

RESISTANCE, REBELLION, AND DEATH, by Albert Camus (translated from the French by Justin O'Brien). Knopf. 272 pp. $4.

Reviewed by

Melvin J. Friedman

THIS carefully selected and edited volume contains essays and public lectures dating from 1943 and carrying through some fifteen years of Camus' creative existence. It gives us quite another side of the author of *The Stranger, The Plague,* and *Exile and the Kingdom;* it is an aspect prepared for by the philosophizing and moralizing of *The Fall, The Rebel,* and *The Myth of Sisyphus* but without the same literary bias. We are now confronted with a Camus who can speak of himself as "the already-old journalist I am."

As Justin O'Brien points out in his skillful introduction to *Resistance, Rebellion, and Death,* this journalistic side is as essential to Camus' art as his fiction, playwriting, and literary criticism. It dates from the same period and develops parallel to his creative writing. The urgency and stylistic clarity of his philosophical tales and his plays are also found in

Barbara Ward

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the editorials Camus wrote for the underground newspaper, *Combat*.

This latest Camus volume to appear in English has all the authorial fiat one can hope for, since the contents were carefully selected by the writer from among his *Actuelles* before his untimely death. The Camus who emerges from *Resistance, Rebellion, and Death* is the spokesman for minority groups, the enemy of capital punishment, the friend of the exile. The Spanish Civil War, the Hungarian uprising, and the Algerian crisis are treated as successive stages in the same historical moment:

"The slaughtered people are our people. What Spain was for us twenty years ago Hungary will be today. The subtle distinctions, the verbal tricks, and the clever considerations with which people still try to cloak the truth do not interest us."

Despite the political bias of most of the essays, Camus is intent on defining the position of the creative writer and reinforcing his own position in the arts. He insists on a middle ground—consistent with his voice of moderation throughout the volume—in which the artist scrupulously avoids the ivory tower and yet resists the temptation of "galloping around the political arena." But he has a clear commitment: ". . . the artist can neither turn away from his time nor lose himself in it."

Equipped with the responsible role of the "litterateur," Camus can pass convincing judgment on the evils of the Nazi temperament, on the need for a "civilian truce" in Algeria, on the martyrdom of the Hungarian resistants and the Spanish government in exile. He is at his most persuasive when he argues against capital punishment in "Reflections on the Guillotine" (which previously appeared in English translation in *Evergreen Review*). This essay was widely quoted at the time of the Caryl Chessman case a year ago and will always have particular relevance to any enforcement of the "death penalty."

The Algerian reports have a curious interest because of Camus' involved yet detached position. He cannot dismiss his concern for his native Algeria but manages nonetheless to judge impartially. His solution would involve a happy commingling of Arabs and French—insisting on their differences as well as their natural ties. In the Gallic spirit of *"vive la difference,"* Camus suggests the central paradox of our time: "Then our differences ought to help us instead of dividing us. As for me, here as in every domain, I believe only in differences and not in uniformity."

Camus has sober comments to make on a wide variety of issues. He inevitably asks for moderation. He can reject but always with a nuance of acceptance. He dislikes Existentialism (one suspects the Sartrean variety) but respects it because "it represents a great adventure of the mind." He asks that we not be impatient with nihilism because it is "what our generation has encountered and what we must take into account." *Resistance, Rebellion, and Death,* with its provocative title, offers us a code of artistic, moral, and political behavior. We can easily accept the suggestions of a writer who, even in translation, expressed himself so gracefully and was so firmly committed.

In Pursuit of Votes

THE COST OF DEMOCRACY, by Alexander Heard. University of North Carolina Press. 493 pp. $6.

POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING: PROBLEMS IN CREATING AN INFORMED ELECTORATE, by Stanley Kelley, Jr. Brookings Institution. 163 pp. $3.50.

IN YOUR OPINION, by John M. Fenton. Little, Brown. 220 pp. $3.95.

Reviewed by

Ralph K. Huitt

IF A PEOPLE who spend one year in four electing a President should think it profitable to spend some small part of the other three years considering whether they do the job well, these three books have, in varying degree, something to say.

Alexander Heard's book is a study of campaign finance, an undertaking which is something like creating the giraffe—remarkable however it comes out. Campaign spending is notoriously so sketchily reported and sloppily recorded that the very thought of trying to do research on it is enough to make most political scientists wonder if they are not in the wrong field.

But Heard, a professor at the Uni-

versity of North Carolina, not only has studied money in politics since 1952 but persuaded approximately a thousand people to help him. The result, of course, does not tell with precision how much anybody spent to get anybody elected; the data simply will not permit that. But even rough records will yield what Heard wants—some insights into how money affects election outcomes, who makes campaign contributions and why, how money is raised and how it is controlled by law, the uses to which money is put, and, finally, some reforms which might be tried.

What is happily absent from Heard's discussion is the overtone of masochism usually found in treatises on money in politics. Heard recognizes that elections in a democracy (and especially in a vast, rich, pluralistic, and decentralized system like this one) do and must cost money; he therefore turns with sophistication and good sense to questions of ways and means.

Along the way some hoary myths are demolished. The costs of campaigning, we learn, have not soared outrageously; they have simply kept up with rising prices and national income. Moreover, they are not extraordinarily high compared to other free nations. The side with the most money may not win, and he who pays the piper in politics may not call the tune. Campaign monies are not supplied solely by "fat cats"; tens of thousands of people give as much as several hundred dollars each. The fat cats are not all on one side, and labor does not have inexhaustible funds. American regulation of money in politics is neither futile nor even less successful than in other countries. As usual, we have tried to do far more by law than other people and more than human nature and the exigencies of politics will support.

This is a book for the specialist, but for the general reader, too, who can stay out of the footnotes. It is a good book for anyone interested in politics except the reader who insists on being scandalized.

Stanley Kelley, in *Political Campaigning*, tries something which seems both more and less ambitous: less in the sense that this is an intellectual exercise, not requiring research in new materials; more in that his goal is to make campaign discussion more rational so that the choice at the end may be more rational.

Kelley argues: "The social objective of campaign discussion is to encourage rational voting. Discussion will further this objective to the extent that it clarifies differences between candidates; presents reasons for adopting alternative courses of action; comes from clearly identified sources; exposes voters to the arguments of both sides; and gives the voter an accurate view of the subjects with which it deals." He believes that campaign discussion can be made to fulfill its social objective much better than it does.

His suggestions are much the same as those reviewed by Heard. The government might subsidize both sides directly or indirectly by making television time available, publishing voters' pamphlets, and granting a limited franking privilege to non-incumbents. Confrontation in debate should be encouraged (this was written before the Kennedy-Nixon matches). Civil and criminal penalties for unfair and injurious attacks on candidates might be devised.

Space is inadequate to list all of Kelley's suggestions, but one point is pertinent: singly and all together, they could only improve the *opportunity* for rational discussion and rational choice. A skillful candidate can be evasive and demagogic at the final judgment if he chooses to be, and a voter can always vote just like father if that is what he wants to do.

In Your Opinion, a summary of the Gallup polls over the last twenty-five years, is included in this review only because the prediction of election outcomes is one (and the most spectacular) of the pollsters' feats. John M. Fenton, the managing editor of the Gallup polls, is duly apologetic about the misfire in 1948 but blithely self-assured about everything else the Gallup polls have said.

Most of us, I think, have long since forgiven the polls for 1948, and some of us were sorry so much was made of it. Actually, election prediction is probably the most valid of the polling operations because the voter is confronted in real life with a situation almost identical to the simple yes-no choice posed by the poll. What is most subject to question is the confident statement of American opinions and

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Authentic Haiti

THE DRUM AND THE HOE. LIFE AND LORE OF THE HAITIAN PEOPLE, by Harold Courlander. University of California Press. 371 pp. $10.

Reviewed by
Nathan Glick

IN RECENT months two of our leading dailies carried reports on the political and economic troubles of Haiti, the first Negro republic in history and the second nation to assert its independence in the Western Hemisphere. These reports were in the accepted tradition of contemporary journalism; that is, they described what an energetic, note-taking observer might see and hear in a few busy weeks: shocking poverty, illiteracy, political discontent, washed-out roads cutting off north from south, telephone wiring that often failed to work. Inevitably this little country with its three and a half million people, facing Castro's "leftist" Cuba to the west and sharing an island with Trujillo's "rightist" Dominican Republic to the east was viewed by the journalists in terms of American preconceptions: an underdeveloped area, a pawn in the cold war.

One great virtue of Harold Courlander's intimate study is to remind us that the most important aspects of Haitian life have nothing to do with these preconceptions. Avoiding either romantic idealization of the "noble savage" or technology-minded deprecation of primitive methods, Courlander describes the Haitian as "rich in music, in the capacity for spiritual expression, in tradition, in folklore, and in memories. He has been able to marry work to play, drudgery to singing, and despair to hope. In his complicated world, life and death are simply different aspects of the same thing."

Haiti is four-fifths mountainous, and the abundant rains have eroded the forests and lush groves that once grew on the hillsides. The result, as a Haitian saying has it, is "a little food, but tremendous work." During the twenty-five years he has been visiting the island, Courlander has found that "little food" getting progressively less. Yet, as he makes clear, this fact does not in itself justify an easy condemnation of the Haitian's economic pattern. For there are other satisfactions in his marginal farm life that make wage work, despite its larger monetary rewards, a dubious alternative. The simple possession of a farm of one's own is still a major source of pride and gratification. And the drudgery of farm work is profoundly mitigated by the communal institution of *coumbite*, a more regular version of frontier husking and barn-raising parties, which joins neighbors and friends in work, song, humor, food, drink, and dance.

I found the chapters on "The Making of the Haitian" and "Land and Work" most immediately rewarding. But Courlander devotes the larger part of his book to recording his original investigations of Haitian religious beliefs, rituals, songs, stories, and dances. These pages of path-breaking anthropology reflect his broader passion for folk tales and folk music demonstrated in several volumes which have become classics and in the massive collection of recordings issued under his editorship of the Ethnic Folkways Library. At first, I thought these detailed sections on the myriad deities of Haitian *vodoun* (voo-doo), and the transcriptions of words and music of both religious and secular songs, were mainly of interest to the anthropologist and musicologist. Certainly they are not the sort of thing the ordinary reader can go through at a single sitting. But on returning to these sections, one gets the kind of sharp, immediate sense of Haitian humor and life outlook that no amount of sophisticated analysis can replace.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the book is its clarification of the nature of *vodoun*, which has little in common with the popular notion of black magic and the sticking of pins into dolls to punish one's enemies. It is more even than the intricate rituals of the cult temple. It is, says Courlander, "an integrated system of concepts concerning human behavior . . . a true religion which attempts to tie the unknown to the known and thus create order where chaos existed before." *Vodoun* reflects the closeness of Haitian culture to its origins in French West Africa, a fact which makes this study almost as much an illumination of African tribal customs as it is of Haitian life. But in Haiti the official Roman Catholic religion has been curiously absorbed into *vodoun* ritual so that

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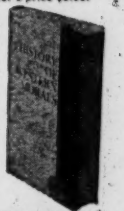

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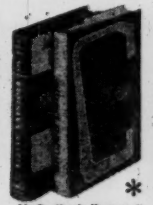

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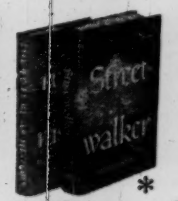

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often a *pret' savane* (bush priest) will recite Catholic prayers during a *vodoun* service. One is reminded of the isolated farmers of south Italy described in Carlo Levi's *Christ Stopped at Eboli* who combined with no sense of discord pagan and Catholic rituals. It is one of the virtues of *The Drum and the Hoe* that it constantly suggests new ways of looking at alien cultures.

An additional delight of the book is Harold Courlander's style. Like the ninety photographs included (most of them his own), his writing is direct, precise, economical, never arty or pretentious or journalistic. His respect for language parallels and confirms his respect for the people and the culture he is describing. Physically, too, the book is a thing of beauty for which, in an age of shoddy bookmaking, designer Adrian Wilson and the University of California Press deserve some kind of award.

Consistently Funny

by Susan Brady

THE DELICATE structure of humor resists all but the most feathery touch by author and critic alike. It is perhaps for that reason that funny books are rare and good analyses of them virtually non-existent. But even if the quality of humor cannot easily be dissected, it can be recognized and identified, hopefully to direct the jaded reader to the genuine pleasure of a laugh-aloud book. Three such novels have been published recently: *Hark, Hark the Lark!* (Atlantic, Little Brown. $3.75) by H. E. Bates, *Through the Fields of Clover* (Atlantic, Little Brown. $3.95) by Peter De Vries, and *Take A Girl Like You* (Harcourt, Brace. $3.95) by Kingsley Amis. In each of these books, the author has used his own brand of humor to accomplish his own ends—and they differ greatly from book to book.

H. E. Bates' humor is, despite its tendency to evoke loud guffaws in public places, delicious and subtle. He has obviously set out to write an entertaining story, incorporating some pungent comments on manners and morals, and he pulls it off. In *Hark, Hark the Lark!* (the final novel in the trilogy on the Larkin family, which began with *The Darling Buds of May* and *A Breath of French Air*), "Pop" Larkin sells Gore Court, a white elephant of a manor house he owns, to Mr. and Mrs. Jerebohm, Londoners who want a place in the country.

The story of the sale and the installation of the Jerebohms in the hostile countryside is told in an anecdotal fashion, with emphasis on the virtues of the Larkin way of life—good eating, good drinking, lots of loving, and plenty of babies—at the expense of the Jerebohm, or city, way of life, which is the direct opposite. The conflict between the two is recounted with zest and zing; in the end, of course, the Larkins win. All the loose threads of the story are tied up in a spectacular party at the side of the Larkins' new swimming pool, bought with the profits on the sale of Gore Court. *Hark, Hark the Lark!*

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is splendid light reading. One *caveat* must be issued, however: do not indulge when on Metrecal or the wagon.

Through the Fields of Clover is also full of monumental eating and drinking scenes but they are all so joyless that they present no temptation. As in his earlier books, Peter De Vries serves up a concoction of puns, wisecracks, and gags, intended to educate as well as entertain, but the former is more heavily weighted here than in his previous writing.

A Connecticut couple, Alma and Ben Marvel, plan a big party to celebrate their fortieth wedding anniversary. All the children, grandchildren, and assorted in-laws show up; each of them represents an aspect of Twentieth Century human folly. Most memorable are Bushrod Marvel, the hot-and-heavy liberal; his sister, Clara, whose sexual maladjustments have been immortalized in a psychiatric casebook, much to her mother's chagrin; Clara's ex-husband, Harry Mercury, a TV comedian, sort of a likable Milton Berle; and, of course, Alma herself, the indomitable matriarch. The positive characters are not so well drawn, with the exception of Ben Marvel, who, after sixty-odd years is not any more accustomed to life in modern America than he is to life with Alma after forty years of matrimony. The adventures of the Marvel clan get a bit tedious, since much of De Vries' social criticism amounts to beating dead dogs, but the story is kept alive and moving by his fertile, inventive wit. Beneath the wild growth of serious and mock-serious comment, De Vries' message is not unlike Bates: both favor a return to the soil, or, since the soil is not always accessible, to the sack.

Take A Girl Like You is about lovable Jenny Bunn, a young, pretty schoolteacher whose objective is to stay out of the sack until she is married. Her pursuit by men in general and by the attractive and determined Patrick Standish in particular is amusing and edifying. Kingsley Amis embroiders the slight plot with devastating criticism of contemporary values and his own special blend of humor, which is familiar to the readers of *Lucky Jim*. In *Take A Girl Like You*, Amis uses humor only occasionally, to strengthen his story. Although he does not always manage to

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make humor an integral part of the novel, he has the right idea. And, integral or not, Amis' witticisms are good and funny.

The reader who has had enough of the dark nights of soul and urgent social problems in fictional form would be hard put to find better light reading than that offered by Messrs. Bates, De Vries, and Amis. Their books are consistently funny, in spite of the didactic urge, which varies in intensity from one to the other of these gentlemen, but which is present in all of them.

Briefly Noted

A Burnt-Out Case by Graham Greene (Viking. $3.95). This is the tale of Querry, a world-famous architect who makes a futile attempt to find anonymity in a leper colony deep in West Africa. The novel has the virtues and faults of a parable: the story is so synthetic that while the scheme and symbols are interesting, they are never fully convincing. There are moments when the story comes to life but for the most part Greene seems to be too concerned with the dialectic to care much about the rest. Even when he is not at the top of his form, however, he is an accomplished writer, and *A Burnt-Out Case* is one of the better books of the current season.

Incense to Idols by Sylvia Ashton-Warner (Simon and Schuster. $3.95) is more complicated than her first novel, *Spinster*. But as before, the author presents a first-person stream-of-consciousness narrative, expressing the emotions and experiences of a unique woman—in this case a widow. Germaine de Beauvais, a pianist, has come to New Zealand to study with the brilliant, notorious Leon Montigny. Beautiful and talented, Germaine has dedicated her life to the pursuit of style, the ritual of pleasure. Not satisfied in her various affairs—with Montigny, a doctor, a dress designer, and a businessman—she is determined to have the local preacher, the Reverend Guymer. Germaine's lust, however, is transformed imperceptibly to spiritual need as she, for the first time in her life, becames aware of the consequences of her behavior. *Incense to Idols* is full of the same rich, original language and complicated style as Miss Ashton-Warner's earlier book. She is unquestionably a master of the art, and it is a pleasure, though not an easy one, to read her books.

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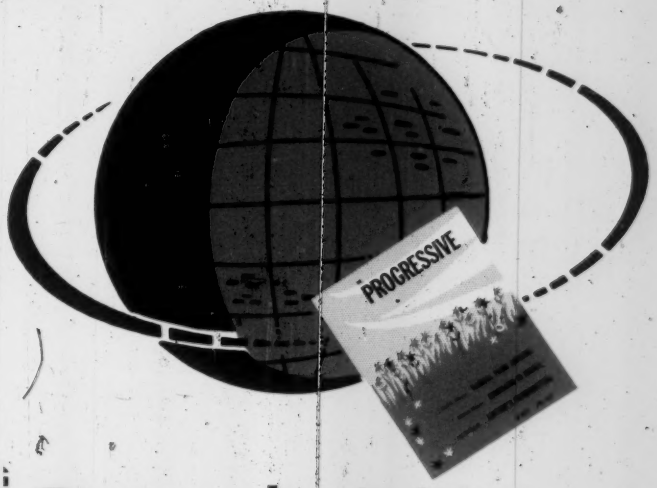

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